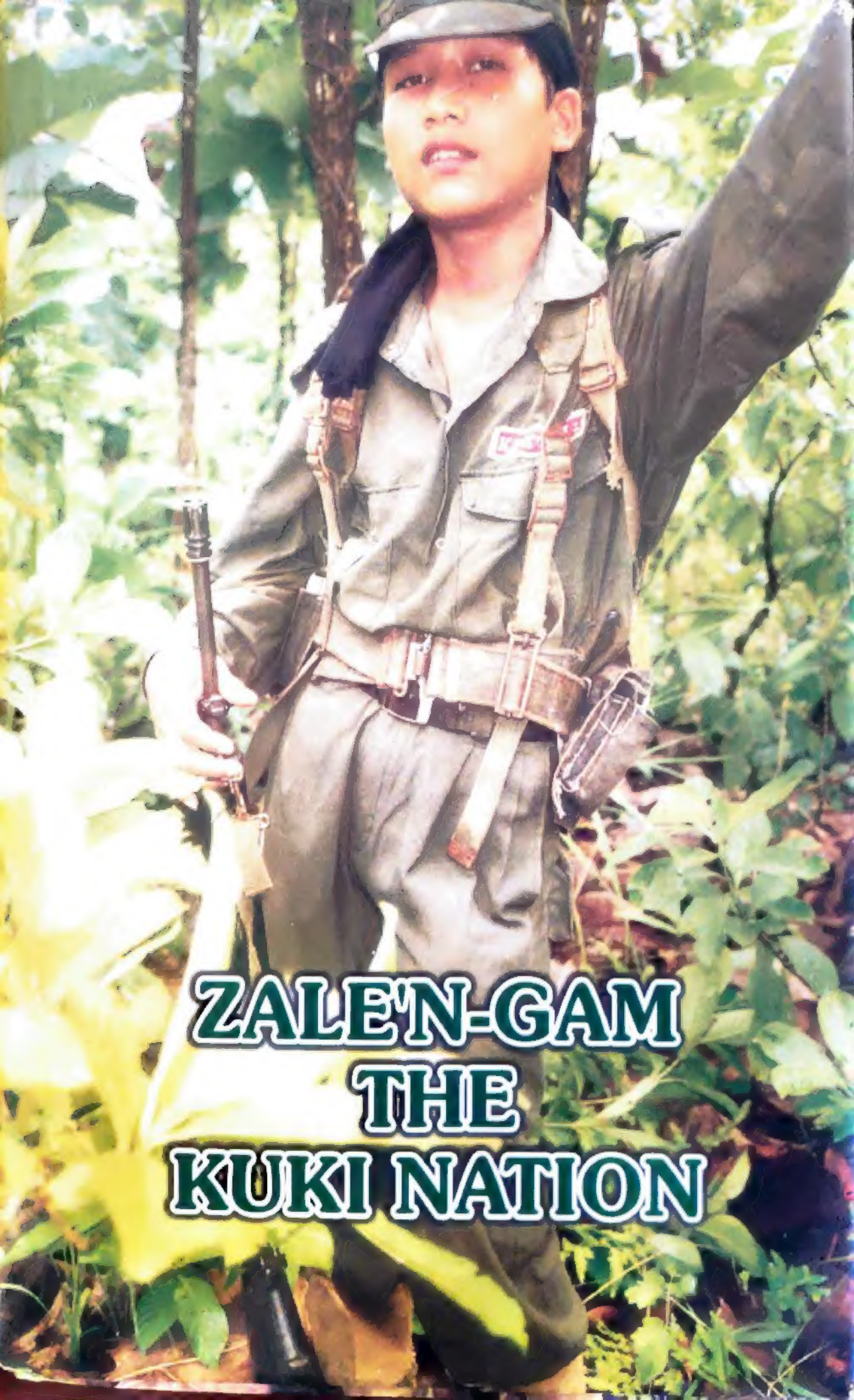


ZALE'N-GAM
THE
KUKI NATION

ZALE'N-GAM
THE KUKI NATION

P.S. Haokip

KUKI NATIONAL ORGANISATION
ZALE'N-GAM

First Edition : April 1998
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I Dedicate this book to Zale'n-gam.

Revised Edition with Additional Text

Acknowledgement

The enormous response I received from my earlier book 'Zale'n-gam' enthused me to attempt a more detailed account of and a deeper insight into the history and justification of Zale'n-gam. In this endeavour, the significance of Zale'n-gam for the Kuki people is also clearly elucidated. Many people have extended their help in a variety of ways and pain stakingly helped me in manifold ways to accomplish this book: I would like to convey my heartfelt thanks and gratitude to all of them. In addition, I am especially thankful to Pu Anton Haokip, Home Secretary to the President, Kuki National Organisation (KNO), who painstakingly helped to write and type the manuscripts.

Zale'n-gam
June 2008

P.S. Haokip
President
Kuki National Organisation (KNO)

Preface

All throughout their history, the Kukis have always held as a prized possession their freedom and sovereignty with their own political and social system of self -governance. In a bid to preserve Zale'n-gam and what it meant for them, my ancestors fought the British since early nineteen centuary, during 1917-1919, and again during World War II, alongside the Indian National Army (INA). Apart from many brave Kukis loosing their lives in these battles, Zale'n-gam was dismembered into three parts. These parts were then divided amongst India, Burma and E. Pakistan (Bangladesh). Consequently, the Kuki people were scattered into near oblivion - today, they are a minority without even a state in each of the three countries. Many Kuki freedom fighters, as in the days of the INA and preceding that during its first war of independence against the colonial Birtish, continue to sacrifice their lives concerning our land. The immortal spirits of the Kuki braves who have died are with us; they constantly haunt us to regain our lost Zale'n-gam.

One thing I have seen is that freedom is fundamental with every Kuki people: it runs in their veins. Therefore, in generations to come there will never be any dearth of Kuki freedom fighters. The Zale'n-gam of my ancestors is not beyond dreams to realise; it is within our grips. I exhort all my brothers and sisters to strive together to recover Zale'n-gam as I can not breathe otherwise.

Though our land has faced depredations by outsiders for many decades, I fervently believe that the sacrifices of our patriots will not be in vain. Zale'n-gam represents the collective history and future of the Kuki people. The day is not far-off when the vision of Zale'n-gam's restoration is completed; the day when the flag of Zale'n-gam is hoisted permanently in our land. On that day, all our losses will be restored and the sufferings of our past well rewarded. Zale'n-gam will flourish once again and take its rightful place in the community of nations. Tah Chapa! (true son of my father!)

Zale'n-gam
June 2008

P.S. Haokip
President
Kuki National Organisation
(KNO)

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CHAPTER I

The Kukis

The Kukis: An Introduction

The Kukis are indigenous people of Zale'n-gam, 'Land of Freedom'. Zale'n-gam refers to the contiguous ancestral lands situated in present-day Northeast India, Northwest Burma and the Chittagong Hill tracts in Bangladesh. The Kukis lived in this part of the Indian sub-continent without being separated by international boundaries up until the early part of the twentieth-century. They were an independent people comprising numerous clans, each governed by its chieftain according to Kuki law, customs and tradition. Beginning from 1937, the British colonial' administration broke up Kuki ancestral territory and incorporated the upper Chindwin and Kale Kabow valley in present-day Sagaing Division to Burma, the Chittagong Hill Tracts to East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), and the adjoining Kuki Hills stretching from present-day Manipur to parts of Nagaland, Karbi

Anglong and North Cachar Hills in Assam, Tripura and the former Lushai Hills to India.

The dismemberment of Kuki territory and its incorporation within the three independent nations: India, Burma and East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), has caused immense socio-economic and political hardships to the people. The effects continue to haunt the people to this day. Another major impact of this state of dispersal concerns the people's identity. However, despite the absence of a known script, and consequently a lack of written contemporaneous history, the oral tradition, recognized as a key stone in the reconstruction of communities dispossessed of written documents (Vansina, 1985), has served to retain vital elements of the Kuki people's past and their identity. Other aspects that connect the people with the earlier period are their shared history, the mutually intelligible dialects, a common culture, customs and traditions, which have remained intact. Folklore, genealogy and traditional forms of compositions and musical instruments have also remained unaltered. These characteristics of the people define them as a distinct entity and combined with the oral traditions, help to preserve the people's shared past and ethnicity. Carey and Tuck (1978 (reprinted), p2) observed that the (Kuki) people's rich traditions, wealth of manners and customs all point to one origin.

Who Are The Kukis?

Various scholars and British colonialist officials broadly describe the Kukis as belonging to the Mongolian stock. For example, Yule (1885), Col Phyre (1886) and McCabe) concluded that the Kukis belong to the Indo-Chinese family, and Capt Forbes and GA Grierson categorise them as belonging to the Tibeto-Burman group. Taw Sien Kho, a lecturer at Cambridge University classified the Kukis as a sub-family of the Turaneans, which include the Japanese, Chinese and Siamese. A pertinent query that arises is how the term 'Kuki' came to denote a particular ethnic group.

According to Col Reid (1893), the term 'Kuki' is a Bengali word meaning 'hill-men' or 'highlanders'. In his view, from the time of Warren Hastings, 'Kuki' had come to be regarded as a conglomeration of various tribes. Capt Lewin (1870), the then Deputy Commissioner of Chittagong Hill Tracts, observed that the Kukis are a powerful and independent people. MacCrea described the Kukis as a nation of hunters and warriors, ruled by their principal hereditary Chiefs or Raja, but divided into clans, each under its own chief.

Regarding the categorisation of Kukis, William Shaw (1929), a British civil servant, stated that the Koms, Aimols, Kholangs (Kholhangs), Thadous, Lushais, Pois (Pawis) Paites, Gangtes, Darlungs (Darlong), Khelma, Biete and several others are undoubtedly all connected. Lt Col Shakespear (1912, introduction) noted that the term 'Kuki' has come to have a fairly definite meaning, and we now understand by it certain closely allied clans, with well-marked characteristics, belonging to the Tibeto-Burman stock. In Shakespear's view the term Kuki includes Aimol, Chothe, Chiru, Koireng, Kom, Purum, Anal, Lamgang (Lamkang), Moyon, Monsang, Gangte, Vaiphei, Simte, Paite, Thadou, Hmar and Zou. According to GA Grierson, in Linguistic Survey of India, the tribes connoted by Kuki includes Anals, Aimols, Chirus, Gangte, Hmars, Koms, Lushais, Paites, Purums, Raltes, Suktes, and Thadou, each able to understand the other's dialect and having a common social and cultural life and place of origin. A classification of Kuki by Prof JK Bose (1934), a renowned anthropologist, includes Chiru, Chothe, Anal, Kom, Tarao, Aimol, Purum, Lamgang, Wainem, Thadou, Lushai and Paite.

In independent India, the above classification that highlight the fact of common ethnicity and identity has been represented under 'Any Kuki Tribes' in the Constitutional Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes lists of 1951 in the states of Assam, Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya, Mizoram, and in Nagaland simply as 'Kuki'. However, the Constitution Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

Lists (Modification) Order, 1956, The Schedule, Part X – Manipur, recognizes the various clans as separate individual 'tribes'. This tribe modification order has exacerbated the identity crisis caused by the international boundaries that divide Kuki country.

In ethnological terms a 'tribe' denotes a people with distinct culture, tradition and language. By these criteria, in the state of Nagaland the Constitutional Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes List classify the Ao, Angami, Lotha, and Sema, all of which have distinctive cultures, customs, traditions and languages as different tribes. By the same criteria, the Kuki clans, which share a common culture, customs and traditions, and dialects with the same root language need to be collectively identified as a single 'tribe', not separate 'tribes'. The error of the tribe modification order of 1956 was rectified in the year 2003 by 'The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act, 2002, No. 10 of 2003, in Part X Manipur', which reintroduced 'Any Kuki Tribes'.

'Any Kuki Tribes' also helps to dispel the anomaly introduced by the Constitution Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modification) Order, 1956, which recognised Thadou, a sub-clan, to represent the various related sub-clans who speak the same dialect. The anomaly essentially relates to varying accounts of genealogical origins.

Efforts to bridge the gap of identity that prevailed from 1956 onwards has led to a rather frantic quest for alternatives to Kuki as a common identity. Nomenclatures, such as 'Khul', 'Mizo', 'Tribal League', 'Tuhbem Som', 'Chikim', 'Zomi', 'Zo', and 'Eimi' were experimented with, but to no lasting avail. The re-introduction of 'Any Kuki Tribes' provides an avenue to generate the much-needed unity among the people, particularly in reference to the dire political condition prevalent in present-day Manipur state. In specific regard to the existing predicament faced by the people, the present may prove to be an opportune moment to reconsider the credence of Kuki as a historically bona fide identity.

With regard to Kuki's historicity, reference can be taken from, and as published in The Telegraph (17 Jan 1994), the Pooyas, the traditional literature of the Meitei people of Manipur, which testify that 'two Kuki Chiefs named Kuki Ahongba and Kuki Achouba were allies to Nongba Lairen Pakhangba, the first historically recorded king of the Meithis [Meiteis], in the latter's mobilisation for the throne in 33 AD'. When Kuki chiefs wield such prominence in 33 AD (referred to above), it can safely be assumed that the Kukis and the identity, Kuki, existed preceding that period. The Kuki identity is also endorsed by eminent personalities associated with the Kukis in the past, such as Grierson (1904), Shakespear (1912), Lewin (1856), and Mackenzie (1884). Their accounts provide a rich cultural heritage of the Kuki people and their identity. Their narratives are also singular indicating that no other nomenclature existed to be regarded as an alternative identity for this group of people. In other words, owing to its antiquity, Kuki's appropriateness as a terminology for the collective identity of the people is self-evident. The Kuki identity is particularly important with regard to the crisis of identity in Manipur. It forms the basis of indigenity of the people and the ancestry of their land ownership. Besides, identity is an inheritance endowed by history, best preserved and gainfully promoted to rightfully claim the rights and heritage associated with it. It hardly matters what the term connotes. What matters more is the wisdom to utilize the identity by which history testifies a group of people as a collective to bargain for the Socio-political and economic rights of the collective.

Kuki Indigenity with Specific Historical References

Historians such as Majumdar and Bhattasali (1930, 6-7) refer to the Kukis as the earliest people known to have lived in pre-historic India, preceding 'the "Dravidians" who now live in South India.' Comparatively, the Aryans, who drove the Dravidians towards the south, arrived in the Indian sub-continent around BC 1500

(Thapar, 1966, 29). Apart from the reference to the Pooyas dating back to 33 AD, Cheitharol Kumaba (Royal Chronicles of the Meitei Kings) records that in the year 186 Sakabda (AD 264) Meitei Kings) records that in the year 186 Sakabda (AD 264) Meidungu Taothingmang, a Kuki, became king. This is supported by the statement of Prof JN Phukan (1992, 10) who writes

If we were to accept Ptolemy's 'Tiladae' as the 'Kuki' people, as identified by Gerini, the settlement of the Kuki in North-East India would go back to a very long time in the past. As Professor Gangumei Kabui thinks, 'some Kuki tribes migrated to Manipur hills in the pre-historic times along with or after the Meitei advent in the Manipur valley (History of Manipur, p24). This hypothesis will take us to the theory that the Kukis, for that matter, the Mizos, at least some of their tribes, had been living in North-East India since the prehistoric time, and therefore, their early home must be sought in the hills of Manipur and the nearby areas rather than in Central China or the Yang-tze valley.

In the second century (AD 90 – 168), Claudius Ptolemy, the geographer identified the Kukis with Tiladai who are associated with Trabharas, and places them 'to the north of Maiandros, that is about the Garo Hills and Silhet' (Gerini, 1909, 53). Stevenson's (1932) reference to Kuki in relation to Ptolemy's The Geography also bears critical significance to its period of existence. In the Rajmala or Annals of Tripura, Shiva is quoted to have fallen in love with a Kuki woman around AD 1512 (Dalton, 1872, 10).

The Wingspan of Ancestral Kuki Territory

According to Capt Pemberton (1853), the Kuki territory stretches from the southern borders of Manipur valley to the Northern limit of the province of Arracan. Meerwarth (1835) observed that the Kukis occupied the hill ranges south of the Naga Hills, to the east the tribes of upper Chindwin and the Chin Hills, on the south those living on the hill tracts of Chittagong, while on the west they are bounded by the plains of Sylhet and the hills of North

Cachar. William Shaw (1929) stated that the Kukis live in a large area of hilly country bounded by the Angami Nagas of the Naga Hills District in the North, the Province of Burma in the East, Lushai Hills in the South and the districts of Cachar in the West. Dalton (1872) had noted that the Kukis are the neighbors of the Nagas in Assam and in contiguity with the Mugs of Arracan. The Hill country occupied by them extends from the valley of the Kolodyne, where they touch on the Khumis to the Northern Cachar and Manipur. Similarly, DN Majumdar (1944) also observed

The Kuki Chiefs rule over the country between the Karnapuli river and its main tributary, the Tuilampar on the west, and the Tyao and Koladyne boundary is roughly a line drawn east and west through the junction of the Mat and Kolodyne rivers and their northernly villages are founded on the borders of the Silchar district.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica (1962, Vol 13, 511) records, Kuki, a name given to a group of tribes inhabiting both sides of the mountains dividing Assam and Bengal from Burma, of the Namtaleik River.'

The wingspan of the Kuki territory as noted by Grierson (1904) is reproduced as follows:

The territory inhabited by the Kuki tribes extends from the Naga Hills in the north down into the Sandoway District of Burma in the south, from Myittha River in the east, almost to the Bay of Bengal in the west. It is almost entirely filled up by hills and mountain ridges, separated by deep valleys. A great chain of mountains suddenly rises from the plains of Eastern Bengal, about 220 miles north of Calcutta, and stretches eastward in a broadening mass of spurs and ridges, called successively the Garo, Khasia, and Naga Hills. The elevation of the highest point increases towards the east, from about 3,000 feet in the Garo Hills to 8,000 and 9,000 in the region of Manipur. This chain merges, in the east, into the spurs, which the Himalayas shoot out from the north

of Assam towards the south From here a great mass of mountain ridges starts southwards, enclosing the alluvial valley of Manipur, and thence spreads out westwards to the south of Sylhet It then runs almost due north and south, with cross-ridges of smaller elevation, through the districts known as the Chin Hills, the Lushai Hills, Hill Tipperah, and the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Farther south the mountainous region continues, through the Arakan Hill tracts, and the Arakan Yoma, until it finally sinks into the sea at Cape Negrais, the total length of the range being some seven hundred miles The greatest elevation is found to the north of Manipur. Thence it gradually diminishes towards the south. Where the ridge enters the north of Arakan it again rises, with summit upwards of 8,000 feet high, and here a mass of spurs is thrown off in all directions Towards the south the western off-shoots diminish in length, leaving a track of alluvial land between them and the sea, while in the north the eastern off-shoots of the Arakan Yoma run down to the banks of the Irawaddy. This vast mountainous region, from the Jaintia and Naga Hills in the north, is the home of the Kuki tribes We find them, besides, in the valley of Manipur, and, in small settlements, in the Cachar Plains and Sylhet.

Kuki chieftains reigned supreme in Zale'n-gam, the undivided ancestral lands, and their people lived in peace traversing its entire expanse like a grand eagle in flight.

A list of the Kuki People of Zale'n-gam in Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura, Assam, Meghalaya and Nagaland

The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, Govt of India, dating back to 1951 lists a complete Tribes Schedules of the six states in Northeast India Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland and Tripura In all these states the various Kuki clans are collectively recognised as 'Any Kuki Tribes' or 'Kuki' (Please see lists below) Latterly, exceptional to this collectivity, there was an unprecedented development regarding the state of

Manipur. 'The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) (Part C States) Order, 1951, The Schedule, Part XVI Manipur, throughout the State', was categorically deleted, the substitute set in place was 'The Constitution Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modification) Order, 1956, The Schedule, Part X Manipur ' This Schedule, in contrast to those preceding it, listed each Kuki clan as separate tribes, thereby inducing a state of grave internal division The divisive impact that lasted nearly 50 years was rectified by 'The Gazette of India Extraordinary, Part II Section I, New Delhi, January 8, 2003 (p 6), (f) in Part X Manipur, 'Any Kuki Tribes' This Gazette restores the legitimacy of Kukis' existence in Manipur in congruence with the status of the Kukis in the other five Northeast states



A display of one variant of Kuki traditional attire by a young model during Kut festivals



Kuki Beauties displaying the rich and varied costumes of the various Kuki tribes, some enacting activities related to Kuki traditional way of life during kut



Kuki youth in a variant of their traditional dress during KUT

CHAPTER II

The Schedules of India

Accordingly, a comprehensive listing of the Kuki people of Zale n gam is included in the following Schedules

MANIPUR

The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) (Part C States) Order, 1951
The Schedule, Part XVI – Manipur, throughout the State

1. Any Kuki Tribe
2. Any Lushai Tribe
3. Any Naga Tribe

The Kuki people in Manipur are listed in alphabetical order

Aimol, Anal, Changsen, Chiru, Chonglot, Chothe, Doungel, Guite, Gangte, Hangshing, Haokip, Hmar, Kharam, Khoipu, Koireng, Kolhen, Kom, Kipgen, Lamkang, Lenthang (Telien), Lhanghal, Lhangum, Lhouvum, Lhungdim, Lunkim, Maring, Mate, Milhem, Monshang, Muyon, Paite, Purum, Simte, Thadou, Tarao, Touthang, Vaiphei and Zou.

The Gazette of India Extraordinary, Part II - Section I, Ministry of Law and Justice, New Delhi, Wednesday, January 8, 2003

(f) In Part X - Manipur, (p 6) 'Any Kuki Tribes' (Similarly)

MANIPUR GAZETTE

Extraordinary, Published by Authority, Govt of Manipur

Secretariat: Law & Legislative Affairs Department

NOTIFICATION

Imphal, 14th April, 2003

(j) In Part X. – Manipur, – (p 6) 'Any Kuki Tribes'

MIZORAM

The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) (Union Territories) Order 1951 [Ministry of Law Notification No C.O. 33, dated the 20th September 1951, Gazette of India, Extraordinary, 1951, Part II, section 3, Page 1198 G]

The Schedule, Part II - Mizoram, Throughout the Union Territory

1. Chakma

2 Dimasa

3 Garo

4. Hajong

5. Hmar

6 Khasi & Jaintia (including Khasi, synteng, or Pnar, War, Bhoi or Lyngngam)

7. Any Kuki Tribes, including

i) Beite, Biete ii) Changsen iii) Chonglot iv) Doungel v) Gamalhou vi) Gangte vii) Guite viii) Hanneng ix) Haokip or Haupit x) Haolai xi) Hengma xii) Hongsungh xiii) Hrangkhwal or Rangkhol xiv) Jongbe xv) Khawchung xvi) Khawathlang or Khothalong xvii) Khelma xviii) Kholhou xix) Kipgen xx) Kuki xxii Lengthang xxii) Lhangum xxiii) Lhoujem xxiv) Lhouvum xxv) Lupheng xxvi) Mangjel xxvii) Misao xxviii) Riang xxix) Sarthem xxx) Seinam xxxi) Singson xxxii) Sitlhou xxxiii) Sukte xxxiv) Thado xxxv) Thangngeu xxxvi) Urbuh xxxvii) Vaiphei

8. Lakher

9. Man (Tai speaking)

10. Any Mizo (Lushai) tribes

11. Mikir

12. Any Naga tribes

13. Pawi

14. Synteng

TRIPURA

The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950 [Published in the Gazette of India Extraordinary No 40, New Delhi, Wednesday, September 6, 1950, S R O 510 read with Act 81 of 1971 and Act of 1976]

The Schedule, Part – XV Tripura

1. Bhil

2. Bhutia

3. Charmal

4. Chakma

5. Garo

6. Halam

7. Jamatia

8. Knasia

9. Kuki, including the following sub-tribes:

i) Baite ii) Belalhut iii) Chhalya iv) Fua v) Hajango vi) Jangtei vii) Khoreng viii) Khephong ix) Kuntei x) Laifang xi) Lentei xii) Mizel xiii) Namte xiv) Paitu, Paite xv) Rangchan xvi) Rangkhol xvii) Thangluya

10. Lepcha

11. Lushai

12. Mag

13. Munde, Kaur

14. Noatia

15. Orang

16. Riang

17. Santal

18. Tripura, Tripuri, Trippera

(Published by MKTRDC, Church Road, Imphal)

Assam

(Source Scheduled Tribe Atlas of India, Census of India 2001, p 91, Govt of India, 2004)

In the autonomous districts.

1. Chakma

2. Dimasa, Kachari

3. Garo

4. Hajong

5. Hmar

6. Khasi, Jaintia, Synteng, Pnar, War Bhoi, Lyngngam

7. Any Kuki Tribes including.

(i) Biate or Biete (ii) Changsan (xx) Kuki (iii) Chongloi (xxi) Lengthang (iv) Doungel (xxii) Lhangum (v) Gamalhou (xxiii) Lhoujem (vi) Gangte (xxiv) Lhouvun (vii) Guite (xxv) Lupheng (viii) Hanneng (xxvi) Mangjel (ix) Haokip, Haupit (xxvii) Misao (x) Haolai (xxviii) Riang (xi) Hengna (xxix) Sairhem (xii) Hongsungh (xxx) Selnam (xiii) Hrangkhwal, Rangkhol (xxxi) Singson (xiv) Jongbe (xxxii) Sitlhou (xv) Khawchung (xxxiii) Sukte (xvi) Khawathlang, Khothalong (Hmar) (xxxiv) Thado (xvii) Khelma (xxxv) Thanggeu (xviii) Kholhou (xxxvi) Uibuh (xix) Kipgen (xxxvii) Vaiphei

8. Lakher

9. Man (Tai speaking)

10. Any Mizo (Lushai) tribes

11. Mikir

12. Any Naga tribes

13. Pawai

14. Syntheng

Meghalaya

(Source: Scheduled Tribe Atlas of India. Census of India 2001, p 93, Govt of India, 2004)

1. Chakma

2. Dimasa, Kachari

3. Garo

4. Hajong

5. Hmar

6. Khasi, Jaintia, Synteng, Pnar, War; Bhoi, Lyngngam

7. Any Kuki Tribes including.

(i) Biate, Biete (xxi) Lenthang (ii) Changsan (xxii) Lhangum (iii) Chonglo1 (xxiii) Lhoujem (iv) Doungel (xxv) Lupheng (v) Gamalhou (xxvi) Mangjel (vi) Gangte (xxvii) Misao (xxiv) Lhouvun (vii) Guite (xxviii) Riang (viii) Hanneng (xxix) Sairhem (ix) Haokip, Haupit (xxx) Selnam (x) Haolai (xxxi) Singson (xi) Hengna (xxxii) Sitthou (xii) Hangsing (xxxiii) Sukte (xiii) Hrangkhwal, Rangkhol (xxxiv) Thado (xiv) Jongbe (xxxv) Thangngen (xv) Khawchung (xxxvi) Uibuh (xvi) Khawathlang, Khothalong (xxxvii) Vaiphei (xvii) Khelma (xviii) Kholhou (xix) Kipgen (xx) Kuki

8. Lakher

9. Man (Tai speaking)

10. Any Mizo (Lushai) tribes

11. Mikir

12. Any Naga tribes

13. Pawi

14. Synteng Khotha

15. Boro-Kacharies (1987)

16. Koch

17. Raba, Rava

Nagaland

(Source. Scheduled Tribe Atlas of India. Census of India 2001, p 93, Govt of India, 2004)

1. Naga

2. Kuki

3. Kachari

4. Mikir

5. Garo

CHAPTER III

THE FOLLOWING ARE THE KUKI PEOPLE WHO TRACE THEIR ORIGIN TO THE MYTHICAL KHUL, A SUBTERRANEAN DWELLING UNDERSTOOD AND COMMONLY REFERRED TO AS A CAVE. THE RESPECTIVE 'CLAN' OR 'GROUP' OF THE KUKI PEOPLE IS LISTED IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER:

The Aimols

(As narrated by Pu Raingam)

The Aimols trace their origin to Khul, a mythical cave or passage through which all Kuki tribes are said to have emerged from a netherworld. They are listed as Old Kukis. The Aimols have lived in close proximity with the Chothe, Purum and Maring Kukis. Their social structure, culture and customs and lifestyle are similar to the Chothe's. Like their other Kuki brethren, the Aimols also

use the Goshem, a musical instrument. The Aimols fought bravely in the Kuki Rising, 1917-1919 and also in the Second Kuki rising, 1942-1945, to defend Kuki *Zale'n-gam*. Their display of peculiar Aimol-variant of Kuki traditional dance forms to the stirring tune of traditional music that can be witnessed during the annual celebrations of Kut, a post harvest festival of the Kuki tribes, is a reminder of the rich heritage and variety of Kuki custom and culture. The Jansen, Mahau, Lutar and Unapal of the Chandel district are close in lineage to the Aimols.

The Anals

(As narrated by Pu Raingam)

The Anals are one of the Kuki groups that originated from Khul (cave). The Anals constitute a prominent Kuki clan. They form a significant group amongst the oldest Kuki people, and continue to be a prominent constituent of the Kuki tribes.

The Anals do not eat the meat of Sasan (wild goat) like their Lushei Kuki cousins. This is an important indicator of the closeness between the Anals and the Lusheis. The Anals are also known as Pakan. The British identified the Anals as the 'Old Kukis'. They came from Southwest Manipur and settled at Pheljol village, within Zale'n-gam. The present inhabitants of Pheljol did not set up village. It was originally settled and named by the Anals. The Anals migrated from Pheljol in two groups: one group settled at Anal Kholen, Chandel District, the other group settled at Naphou.

The Anals are legendary warriors. In pre-history, the Anals of Naphou constantly waged war against the Moirang King. They also participated very bravely in the Kuki Rising, 1917-19 and in the Second Kuki rising, 1942-45. They fought against the British to preserve the sovereignty of Zale'n gam. They also joined the Indian National Warriors (INA) in great numbers.

The Baites (Beite)

(As narrated by Pu Thonglet Baite)

The Baites trace their origin to *Khul* as most Kuki tribes do. They are a small yet notable Kuki clan. Pu Suantak is regarded as the progenitor of the Suantaks. Pu Suantak was the great chief of Khovaiphei. When his descendants grew in number, Pu Suantak left Khovaiphei to set up another village by the name of Phaija. He also established another village called Bongnot, from which was formed another village called Nathel. Nathel was a grand and prosperous village and from there the Baites spread out to different places in Zale'n-gam and into other parts. Today, the Baites are in Assam where they follow a variation of the Baite dialect and are called Beite. However, the Beite of Assam and the Baites of Manipur are one and the same people.

The Baites have a rich repertory of legends. Among them the story of Hensei and Hanneh, Pi Vungneng and Pu Kondem Baite deserves mention:

Hensei and Hanneh are two brothers. They netted a white *Dahpi* (big gong) from the river called Gun (Gundung or Imphal River) while fishing. The *Dahpi* was said to be owned by the demons. The demons came after the Dahpi by following the sound, wherever it was struck. The *Dahpi* is a treasured cultural item for the Baites. Pi Vungneng was a very beautiful Baite maiden. She used to have extraordinary dreams. Pu Mangvung married Pi Vungneng. They had many offsprings, resulting in a tremendous increase of the Mangvung population. Pi Vungneng, it is said used to wear *Long chung* (a kind of nut that served as an ornament) on her braided hair. Her daughters followed the tradition of wearing *Long chung* on their hair. Today, the Baite women keep up this tradition of wearing Long chang. It has also become popular among the Mangvung Haokip women.

Kondem Baite was a prominent chief. He was a great leader of Zale'n-gam and served in the war against the British during the Kuki rising, 1917-1919. After the war, he was jailed at Tuanggyi Jail in Burma for three years, under torturous conditions. Among the Kukis, the Baites were one of the most devoted fighters for the defence of Zale'n-gam.

Pu Thangchung Baite, Chief of Tengnoupal Chalson was a renowned marksman. He fought valiantly in the Kuki Rising, 1917-1919. The Baites presently live in the following areas within Zale'n-gam: L. Sareikhong, Lamlai Chingphei, Mongbung, Mongneljang, Toljang, Ch. Tengnoupal, Moreh, Maipi, Dongjang, Khengjang, Khomunnom, etc. There are many Beite villages in Assam also. One of the oldest known villages of the Baites was Sadih (Sachih), in Eastern Zale'n-gam (Burma).

The Chirus

(As narrated by Pu Raingam)

The Chirus also trace their origin to *Khul*. In order to escape from *Khul*, the Chirus, it is said, let fly Phulim (a variety of small insects) to distract the tiger that was guarding the exit. While the tiger was distracted by the phulim, the Chirus seized the moment and made good their escape. This incident is remembered as Pulim, meaning 'The great escape', and they came to be known as Pulum. As the years went by, Pulum changed to Purum, and Purum changed to Chiru. The Chirus are close to the Chothe, Purum and the Komrem, as well as to the Lushei and Hmar.

General Thangal. Among the Chirus there was a great man called Pu Thangal. His father died when he was only a child and so was raised by his mother. Pu Thangal was a famed and legendary warrior. He was renowned for his bravery and for his excellent skills at forming grand military strategies. He was promoted to the rank of General within the rank of warriors of the king of

Manipur. He fought against the British for the independence of Manipur. General Thangal was arrested in battle and hanged by the British. General Thangal is remembered as a great martyr of Manipur. In his honour a premium part of the Imphal bazaar is named the Thangal Bazaar.

As a part of the Chiru 'cultural' history, it seems appropriate to indulge briefly in an anecdote: While still settled in east Zale'n-gam (i.e. present day Burma) Chiru happened to be involved in stealing some salt from the Purums. Landing themselves into a mess, they asked Chothe to mediate. The matter became worse when Chothe asked Chiru to swear innocence by *hah* (a form of oath taking). At this, Chiru had no choice but to plead guilty and sought forgiveness. Chothe then declared, 'because you had earlier denied your guilt, from now on you shall be named Chiru'.

Chongloi and Hangshing

(As narrated by Pu Ngamjang Haokip, Khamenlog, Manipur & Pu Nguljalet Chongloi, Khaibung, Nagaland)

The Chongloi and Hangshing clans trace their originto the mythical *Khul* along with Pu Chongthu and his party. They are one the prominent clans among the Kuki tribes. Chongloi and Hangshing clan represent descendants of Chongloi and Hangsing, the younger brothers of Thalhun. The sons of Thalhun are Haokip, Kipgen and Thadou. The Chongloi and Hangshings' elder brother Thalhun married while they were all living at Lhungjang village. Thahlhun's wife died prematurely. Consequently, the Chongloi and Hangshings helped to raise their nephews Haokip and Kipgen. Chongloi and Hangsing maintained close relationships after leaving Lhungjang village. Their descendants multiplied and spread to every nook and corner of Zale'n-gam.

Chongloi's descendants set up Jangnoi village in upper Chindwin (Burma) in Zale'n-gam. The name of the village, Jangnoi, has

been preserved for generations. It is also used to name a village in the present day Sadar Hills, Manipur.

Hangsing's descendants also established two villages, namely Khovang and Khotin. Both of the villages prospered. Khovong village was located close to the Tiddim Road. A beautiful ballad has been composed in its memory:

Kakho pacham chie chei-je,

Vongkho pacham chie chie-je,

Jo-pan changsel asutna,

Vongkho (Khovong) pacham chie chei-je.

Free translation

My village Khovong is beautiful,

My village where my father killed mithuns

Is beautiful indeed

The Chonglois and Hangshings have multiplied in great numbers and have set up many new villages where they fully follow their ancient customs and traditions.

Folklore:

Once upon a time, there was a young girl belonging to the Chonglor or Hangshing clan named Japhal. Japhal was exceedingly beautiful, and her fame spreaded far and wide. One day while working in the fields with her mother, Japhal was thirsty and so wanted to go to a stream to drink some water.

The stream flowed along the Molphei hill, the abode of the Molphei deities. Therefore, Japhal's mother did not want her to go alone. She wanted to go with Japhal and so told her to wait until the work at the field was done.

Meanwhile, Japhal was getting thirstier by the minute. Impatient and not getting a response after having asked her mother a second time, she went off to the stream on her own.

When her mother was done, she looked for Japhal to go to the stream. But alas, Japhal was nowhere to be found. Searching everywhere in vain until nightfall, the grief stricken mother wept and wept, and she fell asleep.

In a dream that night, the deities of Molphei revealed themselves to Japhal's mother. They said to her that Japhal had been taken to be a Molphei bride. In return, the deities gave Japhal's mother an *Indoi* (a magical box made of woven bamboo holding spells and charms).

The *Indoi* brought the Chonglor and Hangshings great prosperity and good health. Whenever the Chonglor and Hangshings held a celebration, the Molphei deities would visit them in the form of *Gohong* (heavy rainfall).

Noticing the health and prosperity that *Indoi* brought to the Chonglor and Hangshings, other Kukis also began to acquire one. In due course, *Indoi* gained the status of a totem and became an item of worship, in every Kuki household. The Chonglor and Hangshings used to take oath in the following fashion. Chonglor 'Tah Chapa, Chonglor Tupa, Lutsong Chapa Kahi.' Hangsing 'Tah Chapa, Hangshing Tupa, Songthang Chapa Kahi.'

The Chonglor and Hangshings have spread far and wide in Zale'n-gam. Many of them are settled among the other Kuki clans. They are progressive and have led the way in the sphere of education and development among the Kukis.

Vomhel and Kapja were two exceptional young men of the Chonglor and Hangshings. Vomhel was a strong man who performed many feats of glory. He was a champion wrestler and

during his lifetime excelled in various competitions held in Zale'n-gam. Kapia, besides being endowed with great physical strength, was gifted with the special ability to see and communicate with the spirits. He befriended the spirits residing on Thingbung range. Kapza attended the ceremonies and social functions of his friends, the spirits of Thingbung range, which greatly amazed his people.

At present, the Chongloi and Hangshings are settled in the following villages of Zale'n-gam: Jangnoi, Thingphai, Mongken, Twidim, Khengjang, Chaljang, Napphou, Janglenphai, Khomunnom, Tingpibung, Haijang, Taphou, Vakotphai, Khunkho, Kangchup-Chingkhong, etc., in Manipur state. They are also settled in many areas of North Cachar Hills and Karbi Anglong in Assam, as well as in Nagaland, and in Burma.

During the Kuki Rising, 1917-1919 the Chongloi and Hangshings under the leadership of their great chiefs fiercely defended the Sadar Hills sector. The names of the chiefs are as follows: Pu Lenpu Hangsing, chief of Vongjang; Pu Ngulkhojam Chongloi, chief of Maval; Pu Amjapao Chongloi, chief of Kholen; Pu Nguljalhun Chongloi, chief of Thingphai, Pu Hangsing, chief of Tingpibung.

The Chothes

(As narrated by Rev Reanghang Chothe)

The Chothes also trace their origin to *Khul*. They constitute one of the oldest of the Kuki people. The British listed the Chothes as Old Kuki. According to Kuki mythology, a tiger obstructed the exit of the Chothes through *Khul*, the mythical passage from the underworld. It is said to devour every single person that tried to pass through the cave. Legend has it that the Chothes therefore devised a plan to elude the tiger by using the *Ampi pon* / *Thangnang pon* (a shawl with intricate and mesmeric pattern). The tiger compared the patterns of the shawl with its own stripes,

and finding its stripe inferior, no longer dared to kill them. Thereafter, the Chothes emerged safely from the cave. The first man to pass through *Khul* was deemed a great and courageous victor. He came to be known as Ralngam (Gaingam), whose valiant exploits is told in all Kuki folk tales till today.

After emerging from the *Khul* around BC 200, the Chothes settled at different parts of Zale'n-gam. They migrated from Western Zale'n-gam to Central Zale'n-gam, in the hills of present day Manipur. Around BC 90 to BC 30, Chothe Thangvan Pakhangba a great Chothe chief was crowned King in Moirang, Manipur. Apart from being known as Thangvai Pakhangba, pre-historic tales of Moirang also recounted Chothe and uses his name as Ivang Puri Lai Thingri Nachouba. In modern history, as written by TC Das in The Purums: An Old Kuki Tribe of Manipur, published in 1045 (1945?) at Calcutta University, Chothe is also referred to as Purums. In the book Das highlights the Purums' Kuki identity. McCulloch, the Political Agent of Manipur, describes the Chothes as Kukis. The Chothes and Aihang Haokips fought together against the British, during the Kuki Rising, 1917-1919. They fought to protect Zale'n-gam their land, and the ideals of freedom they cherish. To preserve the same ideals, the Chothes fought the British again in the Second Kuki rising, during WW II.

There are about fifteen Purum Chothe villages. It is astonishing that such a great Kuki clan whose history is traced back to the BC era should number so little today. The explanation is as follows: There has been a change in the Chothe identity through process of mass assimilation, mainly amongst the Meitei and the Nagas.

The Chothes were assimilated in large numbers into the valley Meitei community of Manipur. This took place during the pre-Hindu period. Today, they are among the present day inhabitants of Kakching, Moirang, Nambol phoijang, Keishamthong (Kabui and Meitei), Langmaiching (Nongmaijing), Andro, Thoubal, Leimakhong, etc.

The Purum Chothes were assimilated between the Inpui Mei (Inpi) among the Rongmeis and Purul among the Nagas (Purul being a corrupt form of Purum).

The Doungels

(As narrated by Pu Hemkholun Doungel)

The Doungels are generally referred to as *Khulkon* people which mean they are people who originated from *Khul*. The Doungels are regarded a respectable clan. In order of genealogy, Doungel is the younger brother of Guite.

In Zale'n-gam, the Doungels settled in a place called Aisan. Up to the time of the chief Pu Doungel Chengjapao, they ruled over Aisan. Aisan encompasses a vast territory. It spread from the present day Manipur's Ukhrul District-Chingai sub-division to Nagaland's Pochuri Region. They ruled over the Aisan up until the Kuki Rising, 1917-1919. The Tangkhuls and the Pochuri Nagas paid Se-le-kai (taxes) and Samal le changseo (tributes) to the Aisan chief. It was during the reign of Pu Doungel Chengjapao that Aisan's glory reached its zenith and was most powerful in all of Zale'n-gam. The British India government acknowledged the paramountcy of the Aisan chief among the Kukis and proclaimed Pu Doungel Chengjapao, the Kuki Rajah (Kuki King).

During the Kuki Rising, 1917-19, Pu Guite, the elder brother of Pu Doungel, was settled in Eastern Zale'n-gam. The epicentre of the conflict was in Central Zale'n-gam, the domain of Pu Doungel Chengjapao. Therefore, it was by virtue of the location and activities during the war in Zale'n-gam, that Pu Doungel Chengjapao was given charge of the Supreme Commander of the Kuki force. Pu Chengjapao demonstrated tremendous courage and distinguished himself by the quality of leadership he provided to the Kuki people.

Following a prolonged and bitter struggle, the Kuki resistance was finally broken in the third year of the war. Many chiefs and leaders were apprehended and imprisoned for several years. Pu Doungel Chengjapao, being Commander in Chief of the war was held in prison for an extra year after the release of his compatriots. Following the defeat of the Kukis, the British imperialists completely burnt and destroyed Aisan. This was done as a mark of crushing the symbol of Kuki nationalism.

The sub-clans of the Doungels include the Haolats, Sahum, Lotjems and Tubois. The Doungels are settled in Aisan, Molkon, Chaljang, Bunglung, K. Mollen, Thingsat and Chingphei in Manipur and Bungsang in present day Nagaland. They are also settled in North Cachar Hills and Karbi Anglong in present day Assam.

The Gangtes

(As narrated by Pu Anton Gangte)

The Gangtes also trace their origin to *Khul*. In the old days, the Gangtes lived in Ganggam, Zale'n-gam where they prospered.

According to folklore, the Gangtes worshipped the serpent. Therefore, the serpent blessed the Gangtes and made them numerous in numbers, with many strong and healthy young men and beautiful young women. An annual post harvest festivity was held in honour of the serpent, in the course of which it would emerge from its den to grace the occasion.

With the passage of time, the Gangtes, it is said, became indulgent in their prosperity. They began to be complacent and neglected their worship of the serpent. The irate serpent threatened to haunt them wherever they go. Having given up the worship of the serpent, the Gangtes turned to worship the sun hoping it would bring them better fortune, progress and prosperity. In order to see the sun more closely and to facilitate its worship, they began to

move towards the east, as they noticed that the sun rose from that direction. Contrary to their hopes and belief of getting closer to the sun, they discovered the huge ocean span before them. Not being able to procede any further, yet determined to get close to the sun, they headed west in the hope of getting close to the sun where it sets. True to its warning the serpent followed them in their journeys both to the east and to the west, wreaking destruction and death over them to the point of their extinction. It is said that the serpent distorted their intellect and senses so that they were incapable of facing adversities or taking any kind of logical action. This had a devastating effect on the Gangte population - large numbers of them died in many different incidents that followed. Some of those are related here as follows:

While living at Saitol village, a rogue elephant entered their settlement. In normal circumstances they would have chased it with proper weapons, but under the influence of the serpent they attacked the elephant with knotted cloth. Eventually the elephant was brought down, but the settlement was left with scores of trampled victims.

On one occasion the wife of the chief injured herself with an axe. At this the whole community was driven into a rage of stamping the sharp edge of the axe, in an attempt to blunt it. This incident left countless numbers of casualties. Once, a thirty-arm length pine tree was being felled. It was to be obtained in one piece to serve as the main beam for the chief's house. In order to prevent the tree from snapping, the men were made to line up in a row to break the fall of the tree with their bare shoulders. That incident led to yet another disaster, causing a high casualty.

During the war with the Suhte and Poi people, they were subject to mass hypnotism, they dived off a high cliff to swim in the thick mist below.

Many such stories abound among the Gangtes. They reflect their sense of humour and true character of spirit in the face of adversity.

The fable of the angry serpent god is faintly and reluctantly recalled as a cause of the many misfortunes they have experienced. Had their numbers not dwindled, for one reason or another, the Gangtes would have been one of the most numerous and dominant clan among the Kukis.

Despite their small population, the Gangtes are the most committed torchbearers among the Kukis. Late Pu Demkhoseh Gangte was a pioneering leader in the efforts to re-establish the glory of Zale'n-gam, during the Kuki-Mizo movement in the 1960s. The Flag of the Kuki National Assembly (KNA) was designed and introduced by Pu Haokholal Thangjom. In the face of pressure from various corners, many of them have maintained an exemplary sense of commitment and dedication to Kuki unity.

The main settlements of the Gangtes in Zale'n-gam are as follows: Longpi, Teikhang, Leikot, Phailen, Phaijang, Pangen, Santing, Phaikholum, Chengkonpang, Khanpi, Thingmun, Vantungbung, Bunglon, and Khousabung.

The Guites

(As narrated by Pu Hembul Guite)

The Guites trace their origin to *Khul*. In the Songthu genealogy, Guite is the eldest. Therefore, the Guites are regarded as the head clan among the Kuki clans.

According to folklore, Guite was born of Nigui (the rays of the Sun), and thus the name follows Nigui - Guite. Many of the Guite traditional folksongs bear reference to 'Sons of the Sun's rays' or 'Sons of the Sun'. The mystical birth of Guite is narrated as follows:

After conceiving Guite, his mother is said to have a series of very strange dreams.

In one such dream, the rays of the early Sun shone brightly upon a *holthung* (a tree, particularly good for timber) just below her kitchen garden. The rays penetrated the hollow of the *holthung*, as the rays of a rainbow would. Upon learning of this dream, Guite's father looked up the hollow of the tree to find an egg-sized, smooth and round Salung (a mystic stone, which can reproduce and grow and is believed to bring prosperity to the one in possession of it).

From that day on, Guite's father is said to have incredibly good fortune and he began to worship the Salung (Legend has it that this practice of Salung worship thus originated).

In another dream of Guite's mother, the soft rays of the early sun shone on the Salung that was kept on the rice-basket, whereupon it appeared luminous. She then saw a baby born from the Salung and heard it cry. She rose to hold the baby but still did not come out of her slumber.

One night Guite's mother dreamt that she grew as a gourd vine. The growth was so good that it filled the house. The fruit from it appeared as good as an oil shell, smooth and healthy. The Sun's rays shone through a gap from between the clouds and focussed upon a spot on the ground, which burst out revealing a newborn baby.

In yet another dream, Guite's mother saw a bright and radiant object falling from the sun. It was like a meteor and it landed upon her. She shrieked in fear but did not wake up, as the legend goes.

After having these strange series of dreams, she gave birth to a son. Feeling blessed by the Sun and the Moon and convinced her son was conceived with the rays of the sun, the child was named Guite, derived from Nigui.

(It is a Kuki custom to name an offspring beginning with the last syllable of the person whom the child is being named after. The

person is normally the grandfather in the case of a male child, and a grandmother in the case of a female child. It is also customary to name a child after a dear one.)

Guite's father died prematurely and so he and his mother moved to Aisan to stay at the chief's house. According to Kuki custom, Guite being of elder lineage, the people of Aisan approached him and his mother to accept the responsibility of the 'house' in other words, to accept the responsibility of being head of the family. Therefore, in keeping with the custom, Guite and his mother were asked to receive sating (a portion of meat taken from the spine of an animal, given by a younger sibling to the eldest of the family a symbolic gesture indicating who the eldest is).

Guite and his mother refused to accept the responsibility, claiming that as an orphan and a widow they were not in a position to do justice to the position. However, unawares, they ate a meal prepared with the meat from Sating, cooked with ginger. Consequently, thereafter, Guite was obligated to accept the responsibility of being head of the lineage. Birthright is not considered alterable by any means, including orphanage or widowhood. Guite was thus accorded the position of head of the Kukis. Today, the Doungels give Sating as well as Salu (animal's head) to the house of Guite. Salu symbolizes being head of clans or of lineage, and so it is given to the Guite's as head of the family.

In relation to their being head of all kuki clans by lineage, it is fitting to mention that, by an unusual turn of events, the Guites in central Zale'n-gam (i.e. present day Churachandpur district) have regarded themselves as head of the Paite clan only, rather than the head of all Kukis that have originated from *Khul*. This has contributed to the confusion over the identity of the Kuki people.

The Guites are found in the East, West, North and South of Zale'n-gam. They are also found in the present day North Cachar Hills and Karbi Anglong in Assam.

The Haokips

(As recorded by The Haokip Inpite Insung Kiloikhom - HIIK)

The Haokips also trace their origin tofrom the mythical *Khul*. They are one of the great Kuki sub-clans and are numerous. They are mostly settled in Central and Eastern Zale'n-gam. The villages under their major chiefs are as follows: Lompi, Longya, Henglep, Lokhai, Phoilen, Songpi, Tuitawng, Laijang, Loibol, Saitu, Tingkai, Goboh, Joujang, Khotuh, Phatlengjang, Tuisom, Sita, Molnom, Phasat, Maokot, Chassad and many others. The territory of the Chassad Chief was the largest of them all, although the other Haokip chiefs also owned vast tracks of land.

Thalhun married Nemdim, the daughter of the chief of Lajang. Nemdim gave birth to male twins. As Chonglor and Hangsing took their older brother Thalhun to Lhungjang Village before the birth of the twins, there was nobody left to name the newborn babies. Therefore, it was decided that the twins would be named after their maternal uncles, and were called Chonghao-Haokip and Chongkip-Kipgen. In the meantime, at Lhungjang village, Thalhun married a second time. This time he was married to Neinem, and she gave birth to a son.

Haokip, Kipgen and their mother lived in Lajang village. Being twins, they were very similar in physical look and comparable in their strength. They were in constant rivalry. At the time of birth, apparently it was not made entirely clear as to which of the two brothers was the elder. The matter not properly reconciled, there was rivalry regarding who was senior. In the efforts to resolve the issue, the two brothers agreed that they would hold a contest and the winner would earn the birthright of seniority. They competed at high jump, shot put, wrestling, etc., and Haokip is said to have always been the winner. However, the issue of seniority remained unresolved. Ultimately, the two brothers decided they would sit on the Kemchon (a raised wooden platform) and wait for their mother to call them, and the person whom the mother called first

was to be the elder. When it was suppertime, their mother called out, 'Haokip, Kipgen come and eat your dinner.' Haokip happily went saying, 'I told you so!' and ate his dinner. But Kipgen was crestfallen and went away to their father in Lhungjang village.

Following the death of their mother in Lajang village, Haokip felt that his brother Kipgen should bury her. Therefore, Haokip asked Kipgen to perform the elder son's role in the funeral. Kipgen declined the invitation and instead sent word, 'One, who has a son, let her son bury, and one who has a mother, let him bury his mother.' After receiving this reply, Haokip took charge of the funeral in the traditional manner. He killed a ram to be served on the occasion, in accordance with the Kuki custom. Following the funeral rites, to set things right, Haokip spread the news that Kipgen is his elder brother. However, there was no response from Kipgen. Neither has Kipgen, since, shown the initiative to carry out his responsibilities as the elder. It is perhaps for these reasons that on 19th December 1997, the Haokips finally decided to give Sating to the Doungels, as a sign of acknowledging an elder brother. (For the Haokips the event of giving Sating to the Doungels is a way of establishing that they are of the younger lineage. Having made the effort on several occasions to offer the birthright of seniority to the Kipgens but not receiving any positive response, the Haokips have taken the appropriate alternative of recognising Doungel as the rightful older brother.)

Haokip continued to live at Lajang village. His descendants multiplied in great numbers. From Lajang village, the descendants of Haokip spread far and wide in Zale'n-gam. The Head of the Haokips reigned as the great chief of Chassad. The Chassad Chiefs remained in authority in their land of Zale'n-gam until the advent of the British colonialist, in the early part of the twentieth-century.

Chassad is synonymous with Haokip. A focus on the glorious reign of the Chassad kingdom is representative of the other great contemporary Kuki kingdoms that flourished in other parts of Zale'n-gam.

The Chassad kingdom

As narrated by Pu Sing Haokip and Pu Jangmang Haokip) The [illegible] of the Haokip brothers ruled the Chassad kingdom. His kingdom extended over the central and southern parts of the Ukhrul District of present day India as well as other areas of Zale'n-gam such as the upper Chindwin region in present day Burma. The Chassad Chief's authority also stretched over the regions ruled by his younger Haokip brothers, but he gave them autonomy over their own domains. The Chassad Chief's council was the highest court of appeal among the Haokips. His advisors and ministers (Semang Pachong) helped him to exercise authority in the Chassad council. His councillors consisted of senior clan members, who efficiently administered the unwritten laws of the Kukis. Whenever a case was not solved among the Haokip sub-clans, it was brought to the court of the Chassad Chief, where it would be settled. The wise elders and councillors helped to solve the cases without discrimination and in exercise of truth and fairness, befitting the customary laws of the Kukis.

The Chassad Chief levied an annual tax on the Naga people living within his domain. The rate of tax was a one rupee coin per house. Each of the villages also paid an annual village tax. The payment was in the form of one animal and a certain amount of paddy, per village. The Chief's councillors administered the collection of taxes accompanied by the Chassad overlords. Whenever the Chief went on tour, the people of the village carried him on a tollai (palanquin). The village people always welcomed him warmly. They killed pigs in his honour and served the best liquor especially reserved for him. The Chief in turn solved the disputes amongst them and administered justice. Apart from providing the Tangkhul Nagas protection, the Chassad Chief also ensured that there was no inter village warfare among them. For generations the Chassad Chiefs ruled over the Chassad kingdom with justice and fairness, and there was peace and harmony in the land.

The Chassad Chiefs maintained warriors of able-bodied men to protect the land and its people. All the brave Haokip youths served in the Chief's warriors. The youth received special training in warfare, taught by their leaders in Sawm and Lawm (the youth halls). The Chassad Warriors maintained a full compliment of guns, gunpowder and ammunitions that they manufactured themselves. In the Kuki Rising 1917-1919, the Eastern Sector of Zale'n-gam was supplied arms and ammunition mostly from Chassad.

Several departments were set up to run the household establishment of the Chassad Chief. They are as follows:

The Hunting department

The youth of Chassad village proper and the Tangkhul Naga youth shared the task of hunting animals. They supplied meat regularly to the Chief's kitchen.

The Fishing department

Fishing was entrusted to the Tangkhul villages of Bongpa and Chahong. Fish was supplied on a regular basis, including during the flooding season.

The Agriculture and fuel gathering department

The Phenge Tangkhul Nagas were assigned the responsibility of agriculture and fuel gathering. They produced plenty of rice, enough to eat and for brewing liquor as well.

The Brewery

The Sampui Tangkhul Nagas was responsible for the brewery. They made nice beer, which was always available in plenty.

The Famed Kitchen of the Chassad Chief

The Chassad Chief's kitchen was famed for its size and the incessant activity of meal preparations that went on. Altogether, there were seven hearths for cooking. The fire in the hearths was

continuously stoked up. The flow of water from the kitchen and bathrooms was continuous. As a result, a community of crabs thrived where the wastewater collected beneath the kitchen floor. The saying *Shi-ai-ukaulen* re refers to the grandeur of the kitchen, symbolised by the 'community of crabs', reflecting the height of the Chassad Chief's glory.

So great was the Chassad Chief's household that the chefs had little time for break, and the Tucha Bechas (customary helpers) had no time to attend to their personal needs, such as tending their own fields. The brewers were also constantly engaged. They produced various types of rice beer, which were served in large quantities to councillors and guests, adding to the conviviality of social occasions.

A Tale of the Chief of Chassad and the Chief Meitei of Manipur

The Chassad people once travelled with their women and children through the valley of Manipur (the Meitei kingdom). The Meitei king sent his sepoys and seized the beautiful daughter of the Chassad Chief from among the group of people. The Chassad men folk refrained from retaliating, as helpless women and children could be hurt. Instead they offered a bargain to the Meitei Chief and said, 'We will give you what you want, but you must return our daughter to us.' The Meitei Chief responded by saying that he did not want money or gold, but wanted the head of the king of Ava (Burma).

The Chief of Manipur being defeated in battle by the king of Ava had been seething with rage and wanted to be avenged. The subsequent events show that the Chassad people were very brave, coming to the aid of the Meitei Chief. Thanglet, a prince of Chassad, had a reputation of being faster and stronger than the tiger. He agreed to set out to sever the head of the king of Ava and give it to the Chief of Manipur, in return for the daughter of the

Chassad Chief. Thanglet set to plan. He instructed the men that he would go into the fortress of Ava, behead the king and escape with the head shouting Ku Ku Ku. The man outside the fortress should repeat the same sound Ku Ku Ku, which was to be repeated in turn by the others in line right up to the last man, waiting in the far hills. This would give the impression to the guards of the fortress that judging by the sound trailing into the hills, the man has run away at great speed disappearing into the hills. Accordingly, to carry out this effect, Thanglet positioned his men in a row, starting by the walls of the Ava fortress and into the hills.

As planned, Thanglet entered the king's house. After engaging in a clash of swords, Thanglet beheaded the King. He then carried the head, leapt over the walls of the fortress and ran shouting Ku Ku Ku. The plan was carried out with precision and the sound Ku Ku Ku reverberating through the hills fooled the sepoys of the Ava King. They believed that the swift attackers were already far out of reach, and decided not to pursue.

According to the agreement, the Chassad Chief presented the head of the Ava king to the Meitei Chief. In return, the Meitei Chief released the Chassad Chief's daughter. Following this incident, the Meitei people and the Chassad Kukis maintained good relations.

The Chassad Kukis also helped the Meitei Chief in the war against the Kamhao chief of the Northern Chin hills. Thenceforth, the Meitei king always offered a royal seat to the Chassad Chief, whenever he visited Imphal. In the year 1949, when the Meitei Chief was being pressurised by the Indian Government to sign the 'Manipur Merger Agreement', the Chassad Chief sent two hundred and fifty Kuki sepoys to support the Meitei king.

The Hmars

(As narrated by Pu Ngulkhojang Hmar)

The Hmars also trace their originto*Khul*, or *Sinlung*. They constitute one of the prominent groups among the Kukis. True to their shared origin with the rest of the Kukis, the Hmars have named their newly formed district in Mizoram the Sinlung Autonomous District. *Sinlung* means *Khul*, i.e. cave.

The settlements of the Hmars have been in close proximity with the Singsons. There has been inter-marriage between the Hmars and Singsons and are closely connected to each other. The Hmars are also referred to as Kholhang (Kho-village, lhang-south or below) because their settlements were to the south of the Singson villages.

The British officials such as Hudson, McCulloch and Sir Johnstone recorded the Hmars as Kukis. The reference made by these scholars regarding the Kuki migration towards the north into Manipur, in the 18th Century when driven out by the Lusheis in Mizoram, applies to the Hmars. The Singsons intervened against the Lusheis and prevented further atrocities on the Hmars. Today, the Hmars live in peace with their Kuki brethren in Zale'n-gam, in present day Manipur.

A common feature that also binds the Kuki people is Manmasi. Manmasi i.e. Manasseh is the second son of Joseph, the youngest son of Jacob (Israel). The Kukis are amongst those who claim to be one of the ten lost tribes of Israel, specifically the descendants of Manasseh Manmasi. In Hmar Folktales (1995) Prof Lal Dena writes, "At this time there was a voice from above saying, "Manmasipa, cut down the hanging leaf above you with your sword". As Hrangchal did so, the huge trunk of the elephant was cut off."

The Kipgens

(As narrated by Pu Lunjapao Kanjang village)

The Kipgens also trace their originto *Khul*. They are one of the great sub-clans of Kukis. Kipgen is the twin brother of Haokip. The first Kipgen village was called Khogalpa or Khovalpa, located between the villages Lazang and Lhunjang. The Kipgens multiplied in great numbers and set up new villages in all parts of Zale'n-gam.

The Kipgens are a clan of patriots. They fought bravely in the Kuki Rising 1917-1919 and also in Second Kuki rising, 1942-1945, to protect the sovereignty of Zale'n-gam. The Kipgens are pioneers in the field of education among the Kukis. Among the Kukis, the first Indian Administrative Service (IAS) officer in independent India is a Kipgen. The Kipgens are one of the most advanced clans in the modern era.

The Kipgens spread out from their original village Khogalpa and set up many villages such as Leikot, Molnoi, Tujang, Phaijang, Boljang, Jangmol, Chaljang, Tujang-Vaichong, Haipi Hengbung, Kumbi-Pukhri, Munpi, Bongbal in Central Zale'n-gam (in present day India) and also, Leivomjang, Tejang, Selsi, etc., in Eastern Zale'n-gam (in present day Burma).

The Kolhen

(As narrated by Pu Raingam)

The Kolhens also trace their origin to*Khul*. They form a distinguished clanwithin the Kuki clan-fold. According to traditional mythology, the ancestors of the Kolhens, a man and woman, leapt out of Khurpui (the cave) along with a basket and a spear, and dwelt at Talching. The couple conceived a son and a daughter and named them Nairung and Shaithatpal, respectively. Their direct descendants are the Kolhens.

Among the Kolhens, the chiefship is not hereditary. At the death of the chief, if his sons are unfit, the successor is normally chosen from other members of his family, for example, his brother's line The appointment of a new chief is celebrated with a feast, in which the entire community takes part A pig is killed for the occasion that is provided by the new chief The young men and women make merry with lots of dancing and singing.

The Kolhen are divided into twelve families, divided into two groups Exogamy is prohibited The Kolhen's Keidun festival is in the month of April During the first day of the festival called Karamuidai or Changntakhot, the young men bring in two long creepers

The Kolhen observe Chamershi for two days in the middle of the monsoon, either in July or August A pig and a rooster are sacrificed in the chief's house, which is eaten only by the men The Kolhen celebrates a festival called Ratek, in the middle of August On this occasion, the Thempu (priest) sacrifices a pig and a dog outside the village, facing the Koubru hill.

The Koms

(As narrated by Pu Songchung Kom)

The Koms also trace their origin to *Khul*, similar to their Kuki brethren They are a prominent clan among the Kukis. Their settlements were stately and grand, mainly along the banks of the river Chindwin in Zale n-gam The Kom people speak a common dialect They lived peacefully together before being scattered following the Tak Ava war The British classified the Koms as old Kukis

The Koms are a cultured and sophisticated clan They exude humility and are generally friendly towards their fellow beings. A Kom household is marked by their meticulousness they are tidy and organised Their sense of orderliness is also reflected in

the contribution they have made to the Kuki culture For example, the Koms have designed the most popular traditional Kuki shawls They are the Thangnang Po'n and Saipi Khup The pattern for the Thangnang is taken from the white python, and the Saipi Khup from the black python In the Kom dialect, the men's shawl Saipikhup is called Pase po n, the women wear Thangnang Po'n, and Khamtlang, which is called Po'n kop-hoi

The origins of the patterns for these traditional items of clothing are related in a folktale

There was once a Kom village by the river Twitak In the village lived a beautiful Kom maiden, named Jangnu One day Jangnu went to fetch some water from the river

On the way, she met a handsome young man The young man, who was actually a python in disguise, showed Jangnu exquisite patterns that fascinated her Jangnu stayed with the handsome young man for three days and three nights and learnt to weave the patterns.

Jangnu began to weave the patterns into shawls, and loincloths that are worn by women, but was unable to complete them as she turned blind on failing to observe certain rites prescribed by the priest.

Chongnu, another accomplished Kom lady, who conformed to the prescribed rites, is credited with successfully completing the weaving of the patterns onto the traditional items of clothing These items are sophisticated and aesthetically pleasing They constitute an admirable part of the Kuki culture The other cultural traits of the Kukis exhibited by the Koms are Tuhcha (the men wearing their long hair rolled and knotted into a bun, at the nape) and the women's hairdo hair braided in two strands and knotted at the top of the head The Kom men and women use earrings, similar to their Kuki brethren. They also use the traditional musical instruments such as Theile (flute), Pengkul (trumpet), Lhemlhei (a variation of the flute), Dah (gong), and Khong (drum), etc

Rengngam and Rangsai and Khupting and Ngambom are folktales that are common among the Kukis.

The chiefs are traditional rulers of the Kom villages. Pu Nerthothlal was a famous Kom chief who ruled gloriously in Tripura. Zampher was a big Kom settlement. It was a city-like village in Zale'n-gam. Zampher witnessed a period of great prosperity and was self-sufficient in all respects. The Koms also established another big township called Keirap. At the height of its glory, reputedly, a dove could not fly cross the township in a single flight. At present, the main Kom settlements are Kom Keirap, Senpangzar, Sagang, Rakumbi, Khoirentak, Kangathei, Tuiringphai and Tonsen in Manipur. There are also several Kom villages in Assam and Tripura.

Koireng, Chiru, Aimol, Purum, etc. are all sub-clans whose lineage is traced to Kom. They are united under the Komhrem Organisation.

The Lamgangs

(As narrated by Pu Ralngam)

The Lamgangs also trace their origin to *Khul*. They are a notable clan and they take a leading role in the Pakan Association. They are closely related to the Muyon Monsangs and the Anals. The Lamgangs enlisted as brave Kukis in the Assam Rifles. The Mangvum Haokips also used to hire some of the Lamgangs, among whom Pu Serkanang Senkhil may be mentioned.

The Lamgangs have fought very bravely in the First and Second Kuki rising during 1917-1919 and 1943-1945 respectively. The Lamgangs are great sepoys and experts in the use of the bow and arrow, as well as the spear.

Many of the Lamgangs adapted to the Meitei's way of life and have been assimilated in the process. The Chairen Meitei of Sugnu

is said to be of Lamgangs lineage. Presently, the Lamgangs are settled mainly in Chandel District. They form a very important clan of the Kuki people.

The Lhungdims

(As narrated by Jamkhohen Lhungdim)

The Lhungdims also trace their origin to *Khul*. They are a notable Kuki clan. They are known for their qualities of truthfulness, compassion and humility. These traits enabled them to live in peace with others such as Zou, Haokip, Chonglot and Hangshing, Simte, Paite, etc., with whom they widely mixed.

During the glorious reign of the great chief of Loikhai, a young Lhungdim famously prevented a Dahkang (a big gong, white in colour), the chief's prized possession, from being taken away by other envious chiefs.

During the Kuki Rising, 1917-1919 the Ukha fort was fiercely guarded under the leadership of a brave Lhungdim commander of the Kuki Warriors. The Lhungdims also fought bravely in the Second Kuki rising, 1942-1945.

Pu Hemthang Lhungdim (father of late Ngulkhohao Lhungdim) spread the Gospel message among the Haokips in Thangting hills. He endured a great deal of hardships. The fruit of his efforts are clearly expressed in a song that he composed.

All over the Thangting hills, a cup of black tea could be hard to find,

And now, milk like water flows as from a spring

The Lunkims, Changsans, Lenthangs, Thangeos, Lhangums and Lhanghals

(As narrated by Pu Ngamlet Lhanghal)

The Lunkims, Changsans, Lenthangs, Thangeos and Lhangums all trace their origin to Khul. They are known to be the first group

to pass through *Khul*. They are also credited to be the first to acquire the knowledge of fire – they provided Songthu and the thirty men with him, who left the subterranean dwelling through the passage *Khul* with ember to start their own fire.

Lunkim, Changsan, Lenthang, Thangeo, Lhangun and Lhanghal are great hunters. It is a common practice for them to adorn the front porch of their houses with trophies of various kinds of animals. In ancient lore, during a long period of darkness called Mujmlhun, they were able to survive by sustaining themselves with warmth and light from burning the huge amount of animal skulls and horns they had accumulated. During Mujmlhun one normally died if sleep took over. In the twentieth-century, notable among the Lunkim, Changsan, Lenthang, Thangeo, Lhangun and Lhangghal people are

Lengjang Kuki a signatory to the Simon commission of 1929, in Nagaland. He represented the Kuki people.

Rev. Dr T. Lunkim who translated the the Holy Bible into a Kuki vernacular. It is called Lekhabu Theng.

The Marings

(As narrated by Pu Ralngam)

The Marings are one of the oldest Kuki groups that are said to have originated from *Khul*. They were referred to as Khongsai like the rest of the Kukis in Manipur State. According to Maring folklore, it was possible for them to come out of *Khul* only when the mithun (sel) of the Chothe chief opened the gate.

The reference to Kukis as great warriors is to be attributed largely to the Marings. The Marings, attired in their war outfits and carrying shields and swords, perform a very impressive war dance. The accompaniment of their war dance with the trumpets bears the traditional significance of going to battle. The Marings are

genealogically closely linked to the Pois who live in the Chin Hills and Mizoram. The Phimi and Phingsang clans among the Marings show the direct connection with the Haka Pois in the Chin Hills. The Khoipu clan of the Maring Kukis is related to the Klang Klang clan in the Chin Hills.

The contribution of the Marings in the Kuki Rising 1917-1919 was immense. They conducted a joint operation with the Sita Haokips against the British. Their efficient supply of food in the form of dried meat and fermented beans to the warriors sustained the fight against the enemy. As true Kukis, the Marings fought along with the Indian National Warriors (INA), during the Second Kuki rising in 1942-1945

The Marings, as in the past, steadfastly maintain their Kuki identity. Their kinsmen and close lineage includes Nambasi, Sote, Kasung, K.Tangkhul, Mairing, Poirou, Lukhumbi, Kharan, Leihao, etc., who are mostly found in the present day Ukhrul District.

The Mates

By Pu HH Mate, Gold Medallist (Pu Jangkhosei Mate, Advisor of Mate Insung Kiloikhom, has endorsed the text.)

The Mates are also said to have originated from *Khul*. They are a prominent Kuki clan. The term Mate. Ma means 'front', and te 'to strike'. Literally, Mate means 'front beaters', or more appropriately it means 'pathfinders', people who moved ahead in the process of migration. The Mates are a trans-border people of present day Burma. Racially and linguistically they belong to the Kuki-Chin family. More broadly, they belong to the Tibeto-Burman group of the Mongoloid race, as the rest of the Kuki-Chin people.

Mate is the head of the Gangte clans. In the genealogical tree of the Gangtes, there are seven sub-clans. i) Mate, ii) Mangte, iii)

Thanglun, iv) Thangsing, v) Hilkheng, vi) Neishiel, and vii) Thangzom.

The Mate clan consists of a further twelve sub-clans: i) Chethang (head of the Gangtes), ii) Langsun/Langgen, iii) Seileai, iv) Chingthat, v) Houlim, vi) Limso, vii) Limsong, viii) Sonlim, ix) Phut-hao, x) Hoimun, xi) Khumjel, and xii) That-hil.

The Mates who are at the head of the Gangte clans settled in different regions of Zale'n-gam. Their main villages are: Tengnoupal, Tuibong, Sahomphai, Tuisomjang, Tuilumjang, Sehlon, Changpol, SL Changpol, Khangtun, Urangpat, Lamjanjg, Chehlep, Leiten (Lonte), Leisen Tengnoupal, Bileijang, Nabil, Manatou, Nungkam, Sigam nom, etc.

The Mate population is comparatively small, but their contribution to Kuki society is significant. They are an adventurous and outgoing people and are to be found in different countries.

It is worthy of mention that the British India Government awarded Pu Nehhol Mate a Bronze medal, for bravery and heroism.

The Milhiems

(As narrated by Pu Seikhopap Misao)

The Milhiems also trace their origin to *Khul*. The Milhiem population is significantly high. They are the descendants of Hangmi. *Hangmi* had three sons named Lupho, Lupheng and Misao. The Lupho, Lupheng and Misao have adopted Milhiem as their common identity.

Prior to the legendary saga of Moirang Thoibi and Kumbi Khamba, which was two thousand years ago, the Milhiems were settled at the place called Phubala. Phubala is at the foothills of the great Thangjing hill, near Moirang.

Folklore: At Phubala, the Milhems worshipped an idol, representative of a local deity. The deity blessed the Milhiems. It bestowed upon them many brave young men and beautiful maidens.

The neighbours, in particular the Moirang people, were curious about the source of the blessings. They were filled with jealousy and envy and so decided to find out. They discovered that it was the deity of the Thangjing Hill that blessed the Milhiems, and were set to possess it. So, the Moirang people without warning descended upon the Milhems.

A battle between the Milhiems and Moirang people ensued, which lasted for several days. Not expecting such a turn of events, the Milhiems were eventually suppressed by the Moirang people. The Moirang people snatched the Deity from the Milhems and started worshipping it.

Like the Milhiems, the Moirang people were blessed with many brave men and beautiful young maidens.

The legendary beauty of Thoibi remains to this day. Many beautiful maidens are said to be have descended from Thoibi who are among the Moirang people. In the old days, the people of Phubala and the people of Moirang communicated with a single dialect. Their customs and culture were also the same. The other Kuki people in Moirang at the time are the Chothes. King Chothe Thangvai Pakhangba was also known as Thangvai Pakhangba or Ivang Purik Lai Thingri Nachouba. He ruled Moirang from BC 90 to AD 30, as recounted in the pre-history of Moirang.

According to folklore, the Milhiems and the Chothes were in constant rivalry. The Chothes were assimilated to the Moirang people, partly prompted by the strenuous relations with the Milhiems.

Following the battle with the settlers of Moirang, the Milhiems moved to settle in other parts of Zale'n-gam. The major Milhiems villages are Maphou, Tonglhang, Misao-Lhahvom, Thangkanphai, N. Zilphai, Lungphou, Molkon, Kangpokpi, and Molvom in Nagaland. They are also settled in North Cachar Hills and Karbi Anglong in Assam.

The Muyon Monshangs

(As narrated by Pu Raingam)

The Moyon Monshangs also trace their origin to *Khul*. Among the Kuki tribes, the Moyon Monshangs are closest to the Anals. They have formed an association called Pakan in recognition of their oneness with the Anals.

The Moyon Monshangs are masters in archery. They are also very adept in the use of the bow and arrow, as well as the spear. The Moyon Monshang used these instruments effectively during the Kuki Rising, 1917-1919. They also joined the Indian National Warriors (INA) as a Voluntary force. In 1942, Pu Mono Monsang, chief of Luwachaning was the General Secretary of the Kuki National Assembly (KNA). Linguistically, the dialect of the Moyon Monshangs is similar to the dialects of the Tarao, Sailed, Kholimon, Nambashi, Kasung Khotton, Khonglo-Tangkhul, Maring (Meilong) Leihao Pairou, Kabrang and Lukhumbi.

The Paites

(As narrated by Pu Hembul Guite)

The Paites also trace their origin to *Khul*. The Paites, who also constitute the Zomi 'group', are composed of the following people from the Kuki subtribes : Guites: Thangsing and Tonsing who are brothers of the Haokip family; Hangzos and Khuptong who are brothers of the Hangsing family; and Zou, Vaiphei, Simte,

Chin, and several others, who are all *Khulkon* people, or people who originated from *Khul*.

Genealogical investigation reveals the absence of the term 'Paite'. This is because Paite is not a clan name, it is a name of a 'group' of people. According to our history, Paite was a name given to a group of people. Paite means a group from the community of people that went ahead of the rest, in the long process of the migratory period.'

The Guites are recognized as the head of the Paites. The Guites are also the head of the 'new' Kukis. In the Kuki tradition, the Guites are the repository of Sating*, being the eldest within the 'new Kuki' lineage. The Guites receive Sating from the Doungels.

The Paites, by virtue of the Guite headship shared with the various Kuki clans that they embody, are of immense significance. They constitute an integral component of the Kuki people. Every Paite is linked to their Kuki brethren by descent.

The Sitlhous, Lhouvums and Singsits

(As narrated by Pu Thangngam Sitlhou, Sopakai)

The Sitlhous, Lhuovums and Singsits also trace their origin to *Khul*. They constitute one of the great clans of the Kukis. Thadou's eldest son was Sitlhou. Lhouvum was the second son, and Singsit was the youngest sibling. They multiplied in numbers. Their chiefs were very powerful and their clansmen spread out to all corners of Zale'n-gam, establishing large settlements. The main settlements are Jampi, Khongjang, Sangnau, Ponlen, Chongchin, Aithuh, Songbem, Jolpi, Sanvon, Twithang, Dulen, Lasan, Parbung, Lungthulen, Shirima, Taloulong, etc.

Among them, the Singsit sub-clan is most numerous. Among the Singsit sub-clans, the Singsons spread in various directions. The Singsons have assimilated among the Kabui (Milong) in great

numbers. The descendants of Shokhojam known as Sogaijam are assimilated amongst the Meitei people of the valley of Manipur The Singsons are also found in Siam (Thailand) where they are known as 'Chingsuans' As a result of this assimilation, today their population is considerably smaller.

The Singson chiefs were powerful and prosperous. The territory under their domination was extensive They received huge taxes, perhaps the highest among the Kuki clans. The excessive tax levied on the Hmar Kukis was a factor responsible for the Thadou - Hmar conflict.

The Sitlhou, Lhouvum and Singsits fought vigorously in both the First and Second Kuki rising 1917-19, and 1942-1945, to preserve the sovereignty of Zale'n-gam. They were also the first among the Kukis to be converted to Christianity, and consequently some of them sided with the British during the two wars. They were also the first people among the Kukis to receive western education as a result of their conversion to Christianity. Pu Nagulhao Thomsong translated the Bible into their dialect, which ushered in Christianity among the masses including the Kabui Nagas of Tamenglong district.

The Simtes

(As narrated by Pu Ngulkhopao Simte, Indian Postal Service)

The Simtes also trace their origin to *Khul*. Simte literally stands for 'people of the east' (Sim means East, te means group or people). The Simtes comprise one the oldest Kuki tribes. The Thangsings, amongst them, are a part of the Haokip family.

The Simtes are settled mostly in the Southwest of Zale'n-gam. Their main villages in Zale'n-gam are. Lungthul E, Songdai, Maokot, Bolkot, Alu Singtam, Tontengphai, Lamka Simveng, Thanlon and several other villages around Thanlon. They are also

in Karbi Anglong and North Cachar hills in present day Assam and in Eastern Zale'n-gam (present day Burma).

The Taraos

(As narrated by Pu Ralngam)

The Taraos are also known to have originated from *Khul* Among the Kuki groups the Taraos are very close to the Narum, Saibol and Kholimon clans. They are regarded as one of the eldest clans among the Kuki tribes This accords them a high status among the Kukis even though there are only around four Tarao villages, with a population of not more than 700 An explanation given for the demographic inferiority of the Taraos is that they were assimilated into the Metei culture in great numbers The most prominent among the assimulated Taraos among the Meiteis is the Waikhongs.

In terms of their culture, they represent a vibrant and meaningful part of the Kuki culture.

The Tarao population is relatively small, but their efforts for Zale'n-gam in the First and Second Kuki rising of 1917-1919 and 1943-1945 respectively, cannot be ignored in the annals of Kuki history.

The Touthangs

(As narrated by Pu Ngamkhai Touthang)

The Touthangs are also said to have originated from *Khul* They are a major Kuki clan Formerly they were known as Kamhow, which changed to Lhamhao. Lhamhao means a wealthy people, not lacking in any item of worldly possession The prosperity of the Lhamhaos was legendary. On one occasion when it was revealed that they had every kind of wealth except lice, it was

promptly acquired at the price of a *Khipi* (traditional bead of high economic value) per lice! At the time the value of one *Khipi* was equivalent to that of a calf. As descendants of Pu Touthang, they later came to be known as Touthangs. Gamngai was a grand settlement of the Touthangs in Zale'n-gam. Later, they shifted to Khoikai, which grew very prosperous.

Folklore:

On one fine day, the men of a Touthang village set out to collect honey from a steep cliff off a mountainside.

The cliff was very steep indeed and the beehives were in the middle of the steepest part of the cliff.

In order to get to the honey, a number of them were lowered from above in a large cane-basket tied to a rope.

A fire that was lit beneath the cliff, to smoke out the bees from their hives, began to spread and set the whole Cliffside ablaze, and a good number of them died in that fire.

The population of the Touthang clan is smaller compared to some of the other Kuki clans. This is attributed to the calamitous incident at the cliff, related in the folklore. The surviving Touthangs, it is said, later settled in a place called Singcha in northern Zale'n-gam (in present day Ukhrul district of Manipur).

Today, the Touthangs in Zale'n-gam are mainly settled in Thanaphai, Phaikoh, Tuichin, Moltuh, Dinglen, Denglen, T Gamnom, Valpabung, Monjol, Belei, Galmol, Vakonphai, Gamnom Khoikai, Mollen, Bijang, Teijang, Khengjang, etc.

The Vaipheis

(As narrated by Sonneithang Vaiphei)

The Vaipheis also trace their origin to *Khul*. They are a respectable Kuki clan. In the Kuki custom, a clan name or the name of an individual is derived from the eldest member in the family. The Vaipheis however opted to name themselves after a village, named Khovaiphei. According to tradition, they would be called Suantaks.

Khovaiphei was a prosperous Suantak settlement. The prosperity of the Suantaks was legendary. It is also referred to in the tales of other Kuki clans. A number of other clans of the Kukis were also settled in the village. It is believed that as they were the most powerful clan in the village, they named themselves from the name of their village 'Khovaiphei'.

Folklore:

Pu Suantak (also called Suantakpa, meaning chief of the Suantaks, also used as an endearing and deferential term) collected taxes and revenues such as Sel-le-kai, Ssamal-leh-changseo in Khovaiphei.

Pu Suantakpa had an unusual way of collecting Samal (hind leg of the animal killed on an occasion or on a hunt). He required the person giving Samal to dress it and also to cook it, as directed.

One fine day, Pu Gangte went to give Samal to Pu Suantakpa. Pu Suantakpa wanted dried meat, and so he asked Pu Gangte to slice the Samal into thin strips and smoke it dry over a fire. This was not a customary practice among the other clans of Kukis. Therefore, Pu Gangte was offended.

In anger, Pu Gangte flung the Samal at Pu Suantakpa, who being very old died instantly as he was hit.

Pu Gangte was filled with remorse for his action that caused the death of his elder brother Pu Suantakpa. And so, Pu Gangte and his family left Khovaiphei and went to Gangam, another part of Zale'n-gam.

gam (present day Burma) as well as in West Zale'n-gam (present day India). This has resulted in a lack of cohesiveness in the Zou society.

Nantal Neino is the oldest known Zou village from where they are said to have dispersed to other parts of Zale'n-gam. The British India Government granted the Zous a reserved territory called the Zou Reserve, similar to the Haokip Reserve they granted to the Haokip chiefs.

The following are the main settlements of the Zous in Zale'n-gam: Behieng, Hengtam, Molhem, Munhoi, Tuimanjang, Behiengjang, Singngat, Simuh, Songkong, Kullen, Belpon, Jabellei Buhsao, Khajang, Tuiming, Singtom, Gelngai, Buhsau, Likhai, Chiengpi, Zoveng, etc. A significant number of the Zou people also live in east Zale'n-gam (present day Burma).

The Kuki People of Tripura

The Scheduled Tribe list of the state of Tripura includes a number of tribes under the Kuki nomenclature. In Tripura there has been a conscious effort by the various Kuki tribes/sub-tribes to unite through an acceptable language, based on common usage. To this effect, the people are organised under the umbrella of the Tripura Halam-Kuki Socio-Culture and Linguistic Organisation (THKSCALO).

The Constitution Drafting Committee members of THKSCALO, Pu B.K. Hrangkhawl, Chairman and Pu HT Kluma Darlong and Pu SK Darlong, have drafted a booklet entitled *'Constitution/ By-law of the Tripura Halam-Kuki Socio-culture and Linguistic Organisation'*.

The booklet was approved and adopted on 31 May 1992, by the Central Executive Committee of THKSCALO.

Following the death of Pu Suantakpa, his people became reluctant to be named after their chief Pu Suantak. Being the dominant clan in Khovaiphei, the Suantaks claimed the title of the village and named themselves the Vaipheis. Befitting their historical status, the Vaiphei people take immense pride in their identity.

While the Vaipheis ruled over Khovaiphei, the Suktes and the Pois declared war upon them. Following a bitter and prolonged battle, the Vaipheis were suppressed and they left Khovaiphei, the village they were deeply attached to.

The Zous

(As narrated by Pu Lamjahao Chief of Mongken)

The Zous also trace their origin to *Khul*. They are an important Kuki clan. There are about twenty sub-clans within Zou, namely Manlun, Mantuang, Tungnung, Tunglut, Tungte, Phiamphu, Taithul, etc.

The Zous are renowned for their bravery. They are regarded as the bravest of the Kuki warriors. The Zou tribesmen fought tenaciously against the British colonialists in the Kuki Rising, 1917-19, referred to as ZOUGAL in Zou dialect, to defend the sovereignty of Zale'n-gam. When the war was over, they evaded imprisonment by claiming that they were the mere Sepoys of Tintong Haokip. The British were only interested in imprisoning the leaders.

The Zou tribesmen also fought in the Second Kuki rising, 1942-1945 by joining the Indian National Warriors (INA). During WWII, the Zous joined the INA because they saw the opportunity to regain the sovereignty of Zale'n-gam.

Due to their martial quality, the Zous have frequently been involved in wars, wherever it may be. They have fought in different parts of Zale'n-gam and consequently have settled in East Zale'n-

The Kuki tribes of Tripura organised under THKSCALO are as follows

i) Molson ii) Kaipeng iii) Hrangkhawl iv) Bongcher v) Darlong vi) Ranglong vii) Dab viii) Halam (Khoknu/Nabin) ix) Cholai x) Longhai xi) Morsophang xii) Korbong xiii) Saihmar xiv) Sahkachep xv) Thangachep xvi) Bong

Under the faithful and able leadership of Pu BK Hrangkhawl, the objectives of THKSCALO include the consolidation of the common Kuki identity of the above tribes This is judged critical in view of the general tendency of the Kuki tribes to drift apart due to the absence of a single unifying common Kuki identity

The Kuki People of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh

The origin of the term Kuki is considered to be in the Chittagong Hill Tracts The first recorded usage of the term was by the Bengalis of Sylhet, who used it to refer to the hill tribes of the Chittagong Hill Tracts The British India Government, in the course of the eastward expansion of their empire subsequently reinforced it The British applied the term Kuki as a common nomenclature for all the ethnic clans they came in contact with in the region The Kukis of the Chittagong Hill Tracts are the original group connoted by the term

The Bawm people are one of the Kukis of the Chittagong Hill Tracts They are among the numerous ethnic Kukis, also identified by their clan or named after their habitat Kuki has persisted from antiquity as the collective terminology to identify the clans and groups irrespective of geographical divisions initially created by the British colonialists, and latterly reinforced by international boundaries in the post-colonial era.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts form a significant part of Kuki country delineated in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (vol 13, p 511): 'Kuki, a name given to a group of tribes inhabiting both sides of the

mountains dividing Assam and Bengal from Burma, south of the Namtaleik River.' A more detailed geographical account of Kuki country is given by Grierson (Tibeto-Burman Family Specimens of the Kuki-Chin and Burma Groups, Linguistic survey of India, Vol III, Pt III, Published by Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, India, Calcutta, 1904):

The territory inhabited by the Kuki tribes extends from the Naga Hills in the north down into the Sandoway District of Burma in the south, from Myittha River in the east, almost to the Bay of Bengal in the west It is almost entirely filled up by hills and mountain ridges, separated by deep valleys.

A great chain of mountains suddenly rises from the plains of Eastern Bengal, about 220 miles north of Calcutta, and stretches eastward in a broadening mass of spurs and ridges, called successively the Garo, Khasia, and Naga Hills The elevation of the highest point increases towards the east, from about 3,000 feet in the Garo Hills to 8,000 and 9,000 in the region of Manipur

This chain merges, in the east, into the spurs, from which the Himalayas shoot out from the north of Assam towards the south From here a great mass of mountain ridges starts southwards, enclosing the alluvial valley of Manipur, and thence spreads out westwards to the south of Sylhet It then runs almost due north and south, with cross-ridges of smaller elevation, through the districts known as the Chin Hills, the Lushai Hills, Hill Tipperah, and the Chittagong Hill Tracts Farther south the mountainous region continues, through the Arakan Hill tracts, and the Arakan Yoma, until it finally sinks into the sea at Cape Negrais, the total length of the range being some seven hundred miles.

The greatest elevation is found to the north of Manipur. Thence it gradually diminishes towards the south Where the ridge enters the north of Arakan it again rises, with summit upwards of 8,000 feet high, and here a mass of spurs is thrown off in all directions. Towards the south the western off-shoots diminish in length,

leaving a track of alluvial land between them and the sea, while in the north the eastern off-shoots of the Arakan Yoma run down to the banks of the Irawaddy. This vast mountainous region, from the Jaintia and Naga Hills in the north, is the home of the Kuki tribes. We find them, besides, in the valley of Manipur, and, in small settlements, in the Cachar Plains and Sylhet.

CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS

Location and Topography:

The Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) [map] is situated in the southern part of Bangladesh. The area is covered with lush green hills, innumerable scattered fountains and hundreds of mountain streamlets. It is bounded in the east by the Arakan (South of Chin State) of Myanmar, Mizoram state of India, in the north by Arakan state of Myanmar, in the west by Chittagong District, and the southern boundary is delineated by the Cox's Bazar District in Bangladesh, rising as high as over 4000 feet in places, the hill ranges contain limited cultivable lands that are distinct from the very fertile multi-yielded alluvial plains of Bangladesh in terms of fertility. The CHTs now comprising three districts (Rangamati, Banadarban, Khagrachari), are situated between 21025' and 23045' north latitude and between 91045' and 92050' east longitude. It has a total land area of 13,181 square kms (5,089 sm) and is by surface the largest district in Bangladesh. The districts comprises seven main valleys formed by the Feni, Karnafuli, Chengi, Myni, Kassalong, Sangu and Matamuhuri rivers and their tributaries, and numerous hills (Kiukarotlang, Chinchirmawitlang, Chimbuk), ravines and cliffs covered with dense vegetation (trees, bushes, creepers, jungles etc.) which are in complete contrast to most other districts of Bangladesh, which consist mainly of plain alluvial lands.

Fauna and Flora:

Once upon a time the Bawmram (now called Chittagong Hill Tracts) was famous enough in the country in terms of flora and fauna. It was known as the hunting ground of the Kuki-Chin nation. A wide variety of mammals, carnivores (boars, foxes, weasels, wolves, jack, etc), insectivores (wild bears, gayals, and cattle), rodent (flying squirrels, baboons, porcupines, flying lemurs) are found in deep forests and primates are now hardly or frequently found. Tigers, leopard, rhinos and elephants are found mainly in the deep forests across the borders of Myanmar and India. There are a large number of reptiles viz. Ghanial, Python and Cobra. The forest cover of Bangladesh is only 17%. The deepest forest in the country located in Bawmram (*Bawmram is generally considered as the Bawm inhabited region). The forest is neither coniferous nor grassland like the selva or savanna; rather it is fluffy and hilly forest that enrich the mountains with greenish scenic beauty throughout the year. Since the forests in this area provide hiding places for preying, most animals that live there are sharp-sighted and fast moving.

Ethnic Identity:

There are eleven ethnic multi-lingual minorities in the greater CHTs. They are Bawm, Pangkhua, Lushai, Khumi, Mro, Khyang, Chakma, Marma and Tripura. They have been divided in to three groups. The Bawm, Pangkhua, Lushai, Khumi and Mro, Khyang are Kuki-Chin or Kuki group. The Tripura, Riang are Tripura group and the Chakma, Marma, Tonchangya, Chak are Arakanese group. These groups differ from each other in terms of languages, customs, religious belief and patterns of social organization. The population of the hill people in the CHT is divided into as many as three groups. The Arakanese and the Tripura groups are numerically superior in that order. The Kuki group is the third in numerical strength.

The Kuki group (Bawm)

Kuki group, are called themselves as Tlangmi or hill people (they are Bawm, Pangkhua Lushai, Khumi, Mro, Khyang). They are known as Chin in Burma and Mizo in India The Kuki group ingtistically and culturally differs from other valley-living people or Jumma (Arakanese and Tripura groups) They belong to the Kuki-Chin branch of the Tibeto Burman language family. They are an anbrid ed freedom-loving nation They live on the ridge of hills. They chose different habitats for themselves from the early days of their community-life This is why the British administrator Capt T H Lewin designated them as 'Tongtha' (child of the hills) They are the earl est inhabitants in the hill tracts (see the settlement history) The Bawm (Kuki group) are mainly Christian. Some of them are animists

Tripura and Arakanese Groups:

The Arakanese and Tripura groups now call themselves 'Jumma'. They live in the low lands Most of them till today are concentrated in the ow land or on the riverbanks Capt T.H. Lewin, therefore, gave them the designation of Khyangtha (child of river). The Chakma, Marma and Tripura are, on the other hand, valley dwellers who will settle in higher regions only when pressed for lack of land (loffler, p 39) Although they prefer to call themselve Jumma they are principally concentrated in the low lands and on the bank of rivers They hardly dwell in the hilly region. According to Lewin, the Arakanese group moved in the hill areas in 17th century during the Burmese war They came to the hill areas from the plain lands of Chittagong Until the beginning of the 18th century Chakma Chiefs still sought to have their position confirmed by the Arakanese king, and only at that time did an ancestor of the present chieftain line who was returning from exile in Arakan, moved his residence as far north as Rangunia on

the Karnafuli (Loffler 1986) According to Prof Bessaignet, among the Arakanese groups, the Marma came in the CHT leaving the plain areas in 1826 The Tripura came to CHt from the Tripura state of India They are dependent tribes and British subjects They paid tax-money or tributes to the British Chakma (Tanchangya), Marma, Chak are Buddist. Tripura (Riang) are Hindu

The Bawm Life Style:

The Bawm people have been living in the hill regions by practicing a kind of agriculture on the hill-slopes known as 'Lotuah' (shifting cultivation) They depend on 'Lotuah' for their subsistence So Lo (cultivable hill) cultivation is absolutely vital for the economy of the indigenous people which others are dependent on gardening and horticulture They produce ginger, papaya, banana, guava, black-berry, cashew nut, jackfruit, mango, etc As a consequence of improper decisions and programs implemented by the government deforestation became the ultimate result. The soil are sterile and eventually it terminates to mountain (unfertile-soil on draught) that results in famine in these areas inhabited by the most underprivileged Bawms (Pang, Lushai, Khumi, Mro and Khyang) Moreover, the 1997 peace accord, signed by the Bangladesh Govt. and the JSS (Jana Samhati Samity) for bearing political stability or calm in the CHT area, could not bring any kind of gain for the Bawm population at large

THE BAWMS AND THEIR SETTLEMENT HISTORY:

A brief history of the CHT.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) had been a terra incognita to the Aryan people or the plainsmen till the Mughal period and the invasion of British colonial rulers. The hill dweller and unbridled freedom-loving Kuki-Chin nation or Kuki group (Bawm, Pangkhua, Lushai, Khumi, Mro, Khyang) had too remained an

unknown aboriginal to the so-called plain people. Before the coming of the Kuki group, the inhospitable land remained undefiled, unploughed and unpopulated. The Kuki group, who were fascinated by the wild beasts in the hills and jungles, lush green valleys and numerous rivers and streams, first came and discovered the terrain. They afterwards, settled and inhabited the entire tracts. Till the British invasion, the Kukis predominantly inhabited the entire regions of the hills. In an initial period of their settlement, the CHT was known as 'Hunting ground' of the Kuki Chin that means the land of the Kuki-Chin nation. The Bengali historian Shree Gopal Halder also substantiated this reality in his book 'History of Bengali Literature' in page 141 that .. the CHT is the land of the Kuki-Chin nation. During British annexation, the CHT was also known as 'Karpas Mahal' by the Bengal and the British administration.

According to the Bangladesh government Chittagong was definitely incorporated into the Mughal Empire in 1666. Although Shaishta Khan, the Mughal governor of Bengal, incorporated it in 1666, the empire could not penetrate into and bring the CHT under its control. CHT was, at that time, under the control of freedom Kuki group and the land remained ultra vires till British invasion. On 1st August 1860, according to Bengal Government Act xxii 1860 the hill area was separated from the Chittagong district due to the Kuki rebellion and created the new district (W. W. Hunter, p. " & Satter, P.135). Bengal was incorporated into the Mughal Empire in 1576, it was ruled independently of the central government within ten years of the death in 1707, of the last significant Mughal emperor Aurangajeb. By that time, the wealth of the region had attracted the interest of the European powers, which had begun their penetration of India in1757. The British India Company annexed Bengal in 1760 until the independence of India and Pakistan.

The CHT, historically, was a segment of Cin National Territory (Chin-Lushai Land) which was ruled by British India. The British

ruled Chin Territory together with India and Burma till 1937 from British India. In 1937, the British divided its administration into two parts, known as British Burma and British India for its administrative convenience. Thus, one part of Chin Territory was ruled from British India and another part fell under the rule of British Burma. This separated Chin Territory into two parts. Again, on 15th August in 1947 the CHT had, due to the partition of the sub-continent on the basis of two-nation theory was completely segregated from the mainstream territory. And the CHT was, thus, incorporated into the East Pakistan without the informed consent of the Kuki people. Since Bangladesh gained its independence, they have been considered part of that country's territory. The Chin National Territory (Chinland) is, today, situated in western part of Burma (now Chinland), northeastern part of India (now Mizoram), and southeastern part of Bangladesh (now CHT). Before British annexed it in 1890, Chinland was an independent country with its own administrative structure, religion, and culture since time immemorial. The Chin people call the Chin hill of Burma as Lairam, while the Bawm people call (called) the CHT as Lairam (now Bawmram). Again, by 18th century, both Lushai hills (now Mizoram) and the CHT were known as Kukiland by the plainsmen. It is evident that the CHT had, once, been a part and parcel of the Chin heartland.

The Bawms (Kuki group)

The Kuki groups in the CHT are, today, known as Chin in Burma and Mizo in India. The Mizo hills are inhabited by a group of tribes including Lushais, Hmars, Pawis, Lakhers, Paihtes and Raltes. They are generally known as Mizos. Although Mizo is a generic term meaning high Lander (A Biswas, 1985). All the Chin or Mizo groups are known as Kuki by the Aryans. According to R Vanlawma, 'The Mizo group of people who occupy the hill areas between India and Burma are called by Burmese as Chin and by the Bengalese or Indian as Kuki. Chin or Mizo people in

the CHT consist of six tribes introducing themselves by various names viz. Bawm (Lai), Pangkhua, Lushai, Khumi, Mru, Khyang.

In the recent past, the Bengali and the Chakma knew all the Mizo or Chin people in the CHT as Kuki. Although they have, in course of time, been split into various sects and segregated from the main heartland, they still live closely with each other in harmony. The Bawm people always comprise of all Kuki group (Sunthla and Panghawi). According to them (Bawm), the Bawmzo or Bawm comprised of all the Kuki groups or the ethnic group who belong to Chin or Mizo and who are linguistically described as Kuki-Chin. An ancient historian noted that the similar tribes of Lai, Pang, Lushai, Mro, Khumi, Khyang belong to both Sunthla and Panghawi clans. So, Bawm has comprised of two main clans of Sunthla and Panghawi. The term 'Bawm' means unity or united tribes and 'Zo' means highland. The term Bawmzo, therefore, mean the united people of highland. In fact, the people of the highlands who have, from various sects belonging to the Chin, become one or in unity are, in fact, called Bawmzo or Bawm. Through all of CHT the Bawm populated or dwelling region are (were) known as Bawmram (former Lairam) or Bawmland by the Bawm people. The Kuki tribe scattered throughout the CHT, but a majority of them live in Bandarban district. Most of the Kuki group can now be found in the upper most and the eastern most hill region of the entire CHT such as Kiukarotlang (Keokradong), Chimbuktlang, Chinchirmottlang (Tajindong), Sippitlang (Ramjumpahar), Tatpawngtlang, Sajek Valley and etc. The hill dwellers include the Lushai, the Pangkhua and the Bawm. They are never attracted to the valleys and their villages are nearly always found on the hill tops and the spurs of hills. The Mro, The Khumi, the Khyng are generally found in the traditional areas on the lower crests of hills (Loffler, 1986). The Kukis were in the past, wandering about from one tract to another in search of fertile land and to get rid of mautam (famine). The Bawm litterateur Pu Zirkung Shahu designated them as forest wandering tribe. The Kukis are designated as free hill tribe, particularly Bawm,

Pangkhua, Lushai by Lorenz G. Loffler and as Tongtha (child of hill) by Cap. T. H. Lewin. Intruders also knew them as head hunting tribe. They never paid tax levied by the British administration. Lewin mentioned that Mru and Khumi pay tribute to Bohmang. But reports of the British administrator like T.H. Lewin and his successors in the hill areas contained several ethnographic errors regarding the minority Kukis. Since the British could not contact directly and had no good relation with the Kuki group, the administration tried to contact with the Kukis through the majority group so-called Arakanese group and their chiefs. So, Lorenz G. Loffler asserts that both authors (T.H. Lewin & Hutchinson) dealt mainly with the larger groups residing in the major valleys: the Chakma, the Marma, the Tripura. Less information is offered on the smaller groups: the Mru and the Khumi, the Bawm and the Pangkhua, the Khyang and the Sake.

Settlement history of the Bawms (Kuki group).

Zo (Chin) people migrated from western China-Tibet to the Valley of Chindwin and Irrawaddy and then to the Kalay-Kabaw-Myittha valleys. The earliest people Kuki group (Mizo or Chin) moved into the hill tracts around 14th century. According to the book 'The Structure of Chin Society' written by F.K. Lehman, a senior professor at the Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, U.S.A, in chapter 1, A.D. 1397, around 14th century from the Chin hill we first hear of the Shan fortress city of Kalay (the Burmese Kalemyo) . .we do not know, of course whether the Chin of these plains were as Luce has suggested, pushed up into the hills. Though he could not ascertain how and when the Mizo group (Chin) was pushed up to the hills, it appeared that the Shan occupied the area after the Mizo group left the areas. So, we can presume that the Mizo groups entered the hills in or about 1400 A.D. (R. Vamlawma, Zalen Cabin). It is very obvious from the opinions of the Chin historians like F. K. Lehman and Luce that the Mizo group movement in the up hill regions seem

to have been around 14th century. It can be presumed that the Chin people moved into the Lushai hills and CHT around 14th century. It is assumed that the movement of the Kuki groups in the CHT was not in synchronization. According to other English writer the Bawms (Laimi) came to the CHT in the month of October in 1338 from Chin Hills. Anthropologist Lorenz G Loffler delineated in his map that the Bawms (Lai) and the Lushais moved to the CHT via Mizoram from the adjoining areas of Haka (capital town of Chin heartland). The Khumis and the Mrus came from Kaladan of the northern Arakan (Lower Chinland) in 17th century. T H Lewin wrote in 1870 that the Mru and Khumi came to the Chittagong hills District two generations ago. The Masho (Mro) settled in the north Arakan-southern Zo country during 11th century. One Mro was king of Arakan during the 14th century, which suggests that they were powerful. The Lakher came in the CHT around 17th century.

The Kuki group movement in the CHT was thought to have been in three phases. At the very early stage of their movement, they (the eastern hunting and sylvan tribes Bawm, Panghkua, Lushai) came and occupied the tracts by hunting wild beasts and collecting fruits and roots around 14th century. In the second phase, due to Mautam and Thingtam famine, they moved to the fertile land and cultivable deep forests of the hills with a view to settle by practicing Lotuah (shifting cultivation) and domestication. In the third phase they (Khumi, Mro) poured into the hills along with the Arakanese group (Chakma, Marma) around 17th century during Burmese war. But Hutchinson opined that they are (Mro and Khumi) the earliest inhabitants in this district. Among the Kuki group, the movement of the Khyang in the hill areas is not certainly known but many rivers in the hill areas are signified in Khyang language namely Kassalong, Assalong, Massalong, Suvolong, Kyasolong. Only the Khyangs call the river as 'Long'. So, it is presumed that they moved in the hill areas earlier than those of the Arakanese and Tripura groups. It is presumed from the theses of some Bawm degree holders, the Bawm movement

lasted till 17th century. To their statements a few number of Bawm entered in the hill tracts areas even in the 17th century. They mentioned some Bawm entered the CHT led by Liankung Bawi or Chief. Z Hmunga wrote, Van Hnuai thirh, the father of Liankung Bawi or Chief, the successor of Bawm came from Chin Hills of Burma and settled in CHT, Bangladesh inhabiting 'Uiphum tlangdung'. According to Aryan people (Bengali), most of the tribal people migrated from areas now in Burma between 15th and the middle 19th centuries. Bengali annalists and writers like Dr. Abdur Rab, Professor of the Department of Geography and environment of the University of Dhaka and Dr. Mizanur Rahaman Shelly, Chairman of Center for Development Research, Bangladesh (CDRB) and Editor of ASIAN AFFAIRS, hold a firm substantiation as to the earliest settlement of the Kuki group in the hill region in the book of 'Oh Hill! Oh Chittagong!' the souvenir of the CHT issue. To their statements it is evident that before the Aryans and the plain tribal groups intruded and settled, the easterly hunting and forest wandering sylvan tribes belonging to the Kuki group had already settled in the rugged terrain of the hill tract. As they have assumed the Kuki group movement have been around 13th or 14th century. The plain people started to contact with them in Mughal period around 17th – 18th century. In addition to the Kuki group, all the other tribal people are comparatively new settlers in the hill areas. The plain people, who could merely penetrate in the hills, were known as novus homo and intruder to the Kuki group. After being contacted, the plain people coined a term to refer to them i.e. 'Kuki' by which they meant 'ferocious' or 'savage'. But it is not certain as to the coinage of the term Kuki and whether it really meant 'savage'. The term or word 'Kuki' is neither of Bengali nor Chakma origin. But anthropologist and linguist Dr. Grierson noted that 'the term Kuki is of Assam use or Bengali origin of some antiquity'.

As historical literature suggests, 'the earliest people' to move into the area seem to have been the Kuki group (viz. Bawm, Pangkhua, Lushai, Khumi, Mro, Khyang). The second movement was of the

Tripura group (viz. Riang, Tripua tribes), and the last movement was of the Arakanese group (viz. Marma, Chakma tribes). According to Prof. Perrie Bassaignet, Head of Sociology Department of Dhaka University and Hutchinson, 'the different tribes belonging to the Kuki group appear to be earliest arrivals in the area now known as the CHT. They yielded to and were driven to north-east by the invasion of the Chakma who had gained settlement in the southern portion of the district of Chittagong, but who, during the time of the Burmese wars, were ousted by the Marmas from Arakan and forced to enter the Hill Tracts, while their former possessions were absorbed by the Marmas'. Analysing the historical records of the CHT, it is known that the Kukis were driven or pushed up by the Arakanese group with the assistance of the British and the then Administrators. For instance, Chakma chief Harish Chandra, with the collaboration of Captain T.H. Lewin, fought against the Kuki people in 1871-72. In reality, the Kukis had to move to the uphill regions of the CHT with the invasion of the British, which was historically known as Chin-Lushai Expedition. Historical records suggest that the Kukis, having settled in the CHT, had never been driven or conquered by other valley-living tribal peoples or Bengalis. But accounts showed they fought each other for clan supremacy. For this reason, they were, in the recent past, known as internecine groups in the CHT.

The Bengali settlement in the region began in the later part of the 17th century. According to Dr. Shelly, the Bengali movement into the CHT date back to the 17th century when braving the natural disadvantages, a small number of Bengalis started settlements in the inhospitable terrain of the region upon the invitation of the Chakma chief. So, it is perspicuous that the Kuki groups in the CHT are the first inhabitantsand autochthon of the CHT. The others are, according to various Bengali writers and historians, new comers or intruders.

CHAPTER IV

KUKI CULTURE

Edward Burnett Tylor is reputed to be the first to provide a clear and commonly acceptable definition of culture. In 1871 he wrote, culture is 'that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society' (Lexicon University Encyclopaedia). A long-standing debate has nonetheless ensued since Tylor's definition among anthropologists and sociologists. However, there is consensus that culture is learned behaviour in contrast to genetically endowed behaviour. For the purpose of this text, culture may be stated to represent human life portraying human achievements; shared learned behaviour that refers to a group or community's way of life and outlook of the world, their values, norms followed and the material goods they create. Elements of culture that commonly feature in ethnological literature are language, customs, beliefs, values, artefacts,

symbols, religious practices and rituals, material traits, mythology, art, marriage, and inheritance

Culture has been considered a unique possession of human beings that represent one of the most distinguishing traits of human society. Culture, however, differs from society to society, each having one that is unique to it. The Kuki people's attitude to life, death, family, friends, and society also make them a distinct ethnic entity. Whether humanity should celebrate diversity of ethnicities or mould a homogenous society is worthy of thought. An example regarding this matter is the mix of communities originating from different ethnic nationalities that make up the population of the United States of America. The question is whether the country should be a 'melting pot' or a 'salad bowl'? In this scenario, the former would entail garnering a monocultural and therefore a monotonous society, while the latter celebrates diversity. This condition or perhaps dilemma is illustrated in Peter de Rosa's fable The Best of All Possible Worlds (Niles: Argus Communication, 1975). In the story, a god called Horgath, in wanting to create the best possible world made all creatures look exactly alike, and everything else identical. After a lapse of time, the people became bored of the monotony and so begged him to diversify his creation.

The Kuki people's unique identity is based on their common culture customs and traditions. In other words they have a typical way of conducting their normal daily lives. For example, there are certain regulations observed when a new village is to be established or in selecting a new area for swidden (jhum) cultivation. There are also rules pertaining to the manner in which a house is swept clean. Detailed customary regulations are to be observed by the male in propositioning marriage to a prospective wife. Customs and traditions are observed at the birth of a child and death of an individual. When a hunter kills an animal, there is a rich and beautiful tradition of welcoming and honouring him. The hunter adheres to specified customary requirementsthat

regulate which parts of the slain animal should be offered to the owner of the gun, (if the gun has been borrowed) the head of the clan, and other members of the village. Every aspect of a Kuki's life from the cradle to the grave is governed by customs and traditions, and specific rules and regulations. The numerous Kuki clans, despite subtle regional variations in certain aspects of culture, retain these vital elements of Kuki culture as a common heritage. Besides, all Kuki clans speak dialects that are mutually intelligible. Some of the traditional rituals commonlyby observed by most clans include Sa-Ai, Chang-Ai, Chon le Han, Hun, Kut, and Semang. The Kuki languages also have a rich heritage of idioms and phrases, proverbs and allegorical gems. This is exceptional considering most of these have been passed down generations in the absence of written scripts. A couple of proverbs in one of the many Kuki dialects are *Ululoh in twi asuneh in ngachun, ngaha'n athi lo e* (Tiny tadpoles muddied the pond, causing the death/capture of the big fishes), Benglam in den a nisa lep ah ako-e (Benglam seeks the warmth of the sun in the shade)

Haosa or Chieftain

Each Kuki village is held together by social, economic, religious and political bonds. The Kuki Haosa or chieftain system of administration embodies the core of Kuki polity and is the epitome of Kuki custom and tradition. The chief, who is the head of the village administration, has the responsibility to provide security to his villagers socially, politically and economically. All Legislative, Executive and Judicial powers are vested in him. However, in the actual day-to-day conduct of administration, the chief and his council of ministers are entirely guided by customs and conventions. The customary laws govern all criminal and civil cases

Household Council.

The institution of Household Council comprising a three-tiered relationship, among *tu ha*, (tucha means nephew or son-in-laws), becha (be means a close relative and cha refers to the two individuals consisting the relationship), and sunggao (a term used to denote one's mother's brothers or their sons), is one of the most unique and vital institutions of Kuki society. This three-tiered relationship is derived from the marriage between families, and is prevalent in every Kuki household. Every member is assigned built-in duties to be performed, necessitating their participation without hesitation, regardless of status held in society. Therefore, when a function is held at a relative's house, duties do not need to be assigned, each member already knows precisely what needs to be done. For instance, tucha takes charge of fetching water required in the preparation of dishes and when a family member of the in-law dies, preparations for the ceremonial cleansing of the corpse and its burial. A Kuki family normally has a number of tucha. One of the tucha is designated as tubul (head of tucha) who need not necessarily be a son-in-law, but must have at least a women of the clan to which he is tubul as his wife. If he does not have one, one of his brothers or uncles must.

Bepa is the term used by those in the becha relationship to refer to each other. A bepa represents his family on occasions when the family to which he is bepa may be befallen with misfortune or at an event of celebration, especially when the head of the family concerned may be indisposed. At a given feast, bepa, who is vested with power and authority, acts and speaks on behalf of his alter ego, and is therefore regarded as representative of the alter ego. The duties performed by tucha and becha are not for financial or material gain, but are based on a chain of relationships and lineal bonds. Tubul, tucha and becha cannot be ordinarily changed. The eldest sons in each family retain the relationship in their respective generation. Sunggao on the other hand is the guest of honour, in the sense that he does not perform any ceremonial duty at functions

held at the houses of his sisters and aunts. Sunggao are not supposed to eat within the house of their tuchas or receive gifts from them. Yet they are respected and honoured and occupy a prominent place at social functions and ceremonies performed by the tute. This unique institution of household council is in practice across all clans in Kuki society.

The attire of Kuki men:

In appearance, Kuki bear similar features as other peoples of the Mongolian race. In the olden days, the mature men folk wore long hair tied in a knot at the nape, which was called tuhcha. Tuhbemsom, a description of this style of hairdo, was commonly used to refer to Kukis. Those who wished to cover their hair donned Diel Kop, a turban like headgear. The male children's earlobes were pierced at birth; in each ear a cornelian bead was worn, fastened by a piece of cotton string. A type of neckwear called Sa-o was sported from which hung a tiger's tooth and a rooster's feather or two. Boitong, a sleeveless shirt, usually white in colour, resembled the modern waistcoat. The men also carried additional clothing, slung over either shoulder or both. A loincloth quite like the Indian Dhoti covered the lower body. Chempai or sheath bearing a Chempong or machete was loosely strapped around the waist by a leather belt or a cord. This paraphernalia produced a sound klak-klok, klak-klok that indicated a Kuki male was passing by within earshot. Paipeh or a sort of shoulder bag woven from bamboo or cane was used to carry odds and ends, including the ubiquitous tobacco (used by both men and women) and food items like boiled rice, dried meat and some vegetable. Paipeh was normally fitted with a leather strap and slung from the right side shoulder.

Kuki women's apparel:

Bare-footed like the men, the Kuki women wear a knee-length ponve, a type of lungi or wrap-around. Ponve is wrapped from

above the breasts with one end tucked-in under the left arm. A string at the waist fastens a petticoat named Nih of red and black stripes. Khi or necklace made of red and blue beads was a popular adornment. The hair was properly greased with animal fat, neatly combed, braided in two strands parted at the centre and brought round either side of the head and knotted above the forehead. The fabric for making the apparels was woven from cotton grown on the lands and spun at home by the womenfolk. A woman skilled in weaving was highly prized and much sought after for a wife by eligible young men. Every Kuki girl therefore learnt the skill of weaving. It was rare to find one unskilled in the art. Attired in these set of clothes, in the olden days, one was able to distinguish Kuki women from women of other communities. Today, conscious efforts are made to preserve traditional Kuki clothing (sometimes with imaginative modifications), culture, customs and tradition for posterity's sake. Traditional dresses continue to adorn the women at Kuki festivals, social functions and other formal occasions.

The ceremonial meat and its sharing:

Certain norms are followed in the distribution of the ceremonial meat of animals slaughtered for an occasion for particular categories of people in the community. For instance, tucha is always apportioned the waist portion, because he is born of a woman from the family of the ego. This specific is termed konglo sa, meaning a reward of the labour of the waist of women. The neck portion called sangong is always earmarked by custom as the share of the mother's brother, father, or her male offspring, who are all sunggao to the ego. This expresses recognition that because of the woman of the sunggao, the family of the ego came into being. It is believed that just as the neck is the source of survival of animal, the maternal kinsman is considered the source of life of the family of the ego. Becha are entitled the rib portion as it is in close proximity to the heart; becha being the

personification of the ego is entitled this portion. Similarly, the flesh on the spine is the preserve of head of the clan. The upper portion of flesh on the spine called themsa is given to the village priest and sakeng, the right front leg of the animal, goes to the village chief as recognition of his authority in village administration.

Shom

Shom is a Kuki term for institution of learning and bachelors' dormitory, which was normally set up in a household. It was an active and effective institution for the Kuki youth where the mode of instruction largely was the oral tradition. In shom the youth also learnt about their role in society and other essential responsibilities. Its contribution to Kuki society has been invaluable in the political, military and economic spheres. Shom, in contrast to similar institutions in other communities practiced a tradition of several of its members collectively courting unmarried girls in their homes. However, typical of chauvinistic Kuki society, there was no shom or an equivalent institution for the girls. Shom-Upa, the leader, was responsible for the management of shom and was obeyed and respected by all its members. The village chief was the de facto authority of shom by virtue of his position, but did not interfere in its day-to-day administration. Each shom had two strata of members, namely seniors and juniors. The seniors who were well versed in Kuki lore and tradition passed on their knowledge to the juniors, who in turn assumed a similar role when their time came.

Shom was also like a family institution and its members performed household duties and chores, such as repairing of baskets, preparation of cane splits to make strings called naang, and collecting building materials from the forest. Shomnu or female at shom on her part mended the young men's clothes, arranged sleeping places, provided night blankets woven at home, offered

tobacco leaves and combed their hair (Kuki boys and men traditionally sported long hair and were known as tuhbemsom). Despite the intimate relations and close association at shom, promiscuity or cases of unmarried pregnancy were unheard of. Politically, the institution of shom was the backbone of the village; militarily it was the defence force and standing army, and educationally it was the centre for learning discipline, moral and psychological training and social virtues. In spite of its educational value and social relevance, the institution of shom has faded in Kuki society. However, the manifold qualities of shom and the activities continue to be an inherent part of Kuki society.

Lawm

Lawm is another important Kuki social organisation. Lawm is a vocabulary in a Kuki dialect, literally meaning 'team work' or 'corporate labour'. Lawm is comprised of Kuki youth, both male and female members of each household in the village. The members of Lawm used to work in each other's fields in rotation regardless of the capability of each individual. It was a collective social service aimed at developing a sense of responsibility among the youth. It was an important institution around which revolved the socio-economic life of the village. A set code of conduct prevailed and whoever violated them bore the brunt of the members.

Lawm had many office bearers to whom specific duties were assigned. Lawm-Upa, the leader was the main functionary of lawm, whose duty was to maintain discipline among the members. Next in the hierarchy was Lawm-Lhangva or Tollaipao, the spokesman who used his Taithing Tenggol (walking stick) to maintain discipline among the members from morn till dusk. Lawm-Pengkul Mut or trumpeter, who sounded his instrument once early in the morning to wake up the Lawm members, and the second time in the evening to announce supper was ready to

be served, followed next. Sounding his trumpet the third time, he would proceed toward the Lawm-Khomol, a gathering point outside the village, where the trumpet was sounded thrice, following which everyone proceeded to work in the fields. Other office bearers include Lawm-Upanu or leader of the female group, whose main duty was keep strong vigilance on the proper wearing of dresses by lady members. They were also responsible for preventing improper liaison developing among the womenfolk and members of Lawm-Becha/Tucha or supervisors, who distributed wine and prepared food at social functions and festivals of Lawm, and also Lawm-Twuikhai or water supply groups. The younger members of Lawm were normally assigned the duty of supplying water regularly for the use of the members. The main objective of Lawm was to bring economic development in the village by working together in the fields on a rotational basis. Lawm also served as the training centre for the youths to learn methods of cultivation, acquire the habits of charity so as to extend help to the needy, the destitute and widows in the village. The institution also acted as an agency for reforming character, motivating them in the art and spirit of teamwork and making them responsible and disciplined persons whose characters are moulded by the qualities of Lawm.

Language:

The richness and beauty of Kuki culture also lies in the plethora of dialects that are mutually intelligible. The dialects have a common root-language, which is tonal. Quite similar to the English language, some of the same words with the same spelling have multiple meaning and tones. For example, lei (bridge), lei (tongue), and lei (earth). Adverbs are important part of Kuki dialects. Depending on its usage, an adverb can describe an ugly subject in a rather beautiful form and vice versa. For instance, ahoimo sise-e or ahoimo selsul e (rough translation: The object is quite charmingly ugly!) and ahoi hen hun e, which roughly means

pervasively charming (honestly, this expression defies interpretation to reflect its original meaning in English')

La Pao, a lyrical expression of traditional songs is an embodiment of the richness and beauty of Kuki culture An example in La pao is the description of God

Nipi kot a mang thapi kot a mang Nithum sahthei, khovah sahthei Pen kipatna, poh kipatna Athum penna, aei penna Nichehen penna pattin penna Nipi chunga mang, thapi chunga mang Leipi thosom le thoh chunga mang Vanpi thosom le thoh chunga mang

It is asserted that in every fifteen days, a language disappears. Certainly, a language or a culture will not disappear just like that! They will disappear only when those who speak the language or practice the culture do not seek to preserve them. If a language disappears, there is not only the danger of the culture disappearing, but also their ethnicity

The naming of a newborn child:

Every traditional Kuki person's name bears a meaning of significance Following the birth of a child a temporary name is assigned After a few days, a simple ceremony called Nao-Andop is performed in reception of the child. Kuki names are normally formed of a combination of three to four syllables. This traditional form of naming a child ensures continuity of his or her lineage The eldest son is named after his paternal grandfather, the second son after his maternal grandfather, the first daughter is named after the paternal grandmother, the second daughter after the maternal grandmother and son on In this form of naming, in the case of the firstborn male child, the last syllable of his paternal grandfather is taken to form the beginning syllable of the child's name, and the second son's name beginning with the last syllable of his maternal grandfather For example, if Thangkhosei is the grandfather's name, the grandson's name will without exception

begin with the ending syllable 'Sei' and continue with a preferred middle 'kho' and an ending 'lun' (Seikholun) or any other combination of the second and third syllables bearing appropriate meaning

In exceptional cases, the naming of an offspring is derived from the name of a close relative, a close friend, or someone thought to be worthy of remembrance by the child's parents At any rate appropriate and meaningful names are given to the child with the view that the child may live up to the name On a day convenient to both the families, the child is taken to the maternal grand parent's house for blessings in a ceremony called Naopui

Community festivals:

In the olden days Kukis used to celebrate a good number of festivals, which could carry on for over a week The festivals are primarily about thanksgiving and dedication to Pathen Pasian or the Supreme God. The main thanksgiving festivals were Chang Kut (paddy), Mim Kut (Job's tear), Pawl Kut (general harvest), Chapphou Chapchar Kut (in preparation for jhum or swidden cultivation, which involves clearing of the land by slash and burn method), Lawm Sel Neh (a celebration by young people after the season's work is over) and Hun or Ahkangtha (celebrated after planting of grains and vegetables, an occasion of worship in which a white rooster is sacrificed without breaking any of its bones) The other two important youth festivals were Shom Kivah and Lawm or Lawm Kivah (members of Shom and Lawm are feasted for their dedicated work) Prior permission of the chief was essential for actual preparations for any feast to begin

A convivial atmosphere with drinking of ju (normally rice beer), feasting, dancing and singing were integral parts of the feasts These occasions also helped to maintain continuity of culture and tradition (with their deeper meanings and purposes) than just the outward show of pomp and merry-making would suggest Another

important purpose of the feasts was to offer thanks to Pathien/ Pasian (God), who it was believed bestowed blessings of good health and prosperity. The young men would find the longest, straightest and biggest wild bamboo available and erect it at a central place where the Lawm festival would be held. Festival time was a break from months of hard work for the village youths. They would compete in various sports, such as wrestling, pestle-throw, high jump over a mithun or bison (made immobile by being fastened securely to very stout and solid poles) was a major highlight

Most of the traditional festivals, which in the past reflected a state of peace and prosperity, are not widely celebrated at the present time. An exception is Kut, a harvest festival, which provides an occasion for many of the Kuki clans to come together and celebrate their common ethnicity. Kut is celebrated on 1 November in the state of Manipur. Mim Kut is held in the state of Nagaland on 17 January Both these dates have been declared State holidays

Feasts of Honour:

Besides the various community festivals, there were others pertaining to individual achievements, which served as social indices The most important among them were Chang Ai (a celebration of bounteous rice harvest in which a lady of the particular household is given pride of place), Sa Ai (marked a persons bravery and success as a hunter) and Chon (celebrated by only those who performed the first two feasts of merit, Chang Ai and Sa Ai)

Chang Ai was a feast dedicated to womenfolk's achievement. It was celebrated as thanksgiving for a bountiful harvest, the fruit of their labour As in other feasts of honour, a special pot of ju was prepared, which only those who had performed Chang Ai feast could partake of The woman who celebrated the last feast

of Chang Ai was given the honour of being the first to drink the ju served in a specially made earthen jar using a bamboo reed as straw.

Sa Ai denoted a man's wealth, skill, and bravery in hunting. A man performing Sa Ai must have killed many wild and dangerous animals, such as the tiger, bear, elephant and bison. Such a man who celebrated Sa Ai was assumed to obtain an advantageous position in the after-life at a place called Mithi kho (village of the dead) He was also supposed to gain possession of the spirits of his enemies and the wild animals he had killed during his lifetime on earth. A special jar of ju was given to the man, not only during the celebration but also at every such feast

Chon was the most expensive festival of all. It could be executed only by those who had performed Sa Ai thrice During this festival every single aspect had to be repeated seven times For instance, seven mithuns were to be killed and everything else had to be in multiples of seven. Even the traditional songs and genealogical trees were to be repeated seven times. At the death of the persons who had performed these feasts of honour in their lifetime, the body was carried about and bounced up and down (called Lap) nine times on the way to the tomb before finally being buried A most significant and moving moment of these celebrations was the drinking of a special wine called Dokheng Ju. This ritual symbolised unity in any eventuality even at the cost of committing one's own life.

Musical instruments:

The Kukis have different kinds of musical instruments for different occasions. The most important of these are Khongpi (big drum), Khongcha (small drum), Dahpi (big gong), Dahcha (small gong), Pengkul (trumpet), Gosem (similar to the Scottish bagpipe, but made from a hollowed gourd with cane reeds serving as pipes), Theile (flute), Theiphit (whistle), Lhemlhei used exclusively by

the females). These musical instruments enhanced the festive spirit as well as add a sense of solemnity.

Folktales:

There are many folktales that are common among the Kukis even though they have been geographically dispersed far and wide. Legendary tales of kuki heroes and heroines, such as of Galngam/ Rhalngam and Hangsai, Khupting and Ngambom, Pujil and Langchal, Benglam, Jonlhing and Nanglhun, Chemtatpa/ Temtatpu, Changkhatpu and Ahsijolneng, Khalvompu and Lenchonghoi have regaled many generations. Folklore of Zale'n-gam, the Kuki country, abounds with Kuki warriors courting heavenly beauties, such as Moultinchan, Ahsijolneng, Jonlhing and Jolphal. These stories have been passed down to generations upon generations through the oral tradition. Numerous imprints of Galngam and his pet animals are evident across the length and breadth of Zale'n-gam. Zale'n-gam: The Kuki Nation (1988) lists 24 such locations. The pugmarks left by Galngam's dogs and mithuns are also featured. The mithun and the hornbill respectively represent the national animal and bird of Zale'ngam.

Conclusion

Culture and tradition are elements that preserve a people's identity. They are characteristics that distinguish one people from other peoples. The world is blessed with diversity, and diversity must be celebrated. This is how the dreaded monotony of existence, exemplified in the story of Horgath, is kept at bay. The unique and rich variety of Kuki culture and tradition make them distinct from their neighbouring communities. Their folktales are a part of the precious strand that links the Kukis dispersed within India, Burma and Bangladesh.

THESE DRAWINGS ARE A COLLECTION OF THANGDOULEN HAOKIP ALIAS DOULEN MATALAMBULANE, MANIPUR





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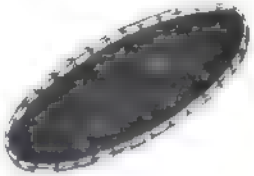
Bungbong



Namkol



Longkai



Goodal



Pocha

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Tengpa



Simkhup



Kongpe

Modernity and globalisation are realities of life pervading most of today's communities around the world. These forces may have significant influences on the way people choose to live, but respect and appreciation of one's own culture and tradition and of other's can help maintain a healthy balance Japan, which is a highly industrialised and modernised nation, is a positive model. Japan is an Asian nation that is modernised, but not necessarily westernised The country retains its glorious traditions and old values and is eclectic in what it assimilates Emulation of this Japanese way by communities, such as the Kukis with a rich heritage of culture and traditions would be highly beneficial

CHAPTER V

The Political Backdrop

In sovereign Zale'n-gam the Kukis'neighbours, that is, the Tangkhul people incessantly raided, plundered and razed each other's villages. This happened among the Rongmei Naga people as well. In the prevailing headhunting and inter-village rivalry among the neighbouring tribes there was no security of life and property, especially in the smaller villages. Due to this many of the Naga tribes shifted into the sanctuary of Zale'n-gam. In due course many of these tribes developed jawl-le-gol (camaraderie) with the Kukis. In those days there was no ethnic animosity between the Kuki, Tangkhul or Milong (Kabui Naga).

The Kukis treated the Naga tribes as jawl le-gol and provided them refuge in Zale'n-gam. In return the tribes paid se-le-kai (tax) to the Kuki Chiefs, in their respective territories. For example, se-le-kai was levied by the Aisan Chief over the Pochurys and the Tangkhuls, the Chassad Chief over the Tangkhuls, the Joujang

Chief over the Somra tribes; and the Laijang, Jampi and Sangnaote chiefs over the Milong Nagas. Similarly, several other big Kuki chiefs also levied taxes and received tributes from other tribes in different parts of Zale'n-gam. The status quo prevailed for a long period, interrupted only by the arrival of the British colonialist in the latter part of the nineteenth-century.

Discussions and interviews with several Kuki elders have further confirmed the above events. The accounts of these elders are based on personal experiences. Some of the elders interviewed are:

1. Pu Lunkhothang Kuki, 80 years of age, an Indian National Army (INA) pensioner and one time President of Haokip People's Council, Manipur,

2. Pu Semjalet Haokip, who is about 90 years old, very religious and still active in Christian work,

3. Pu Yangkhosei Kuki, who is about 70 years old, also an INA pensioner and still very popular in the locality.

4. Pu Jamkhochung Haokip aged 97, from whom the most vivid account of the socio-political scenario of the period has come. He was formerly an INA member and

Assam Rifles sepoy. The meeting with Pu Jamkhochung was held at Moreh on 14th May 1997.

A revealing anecdote was collected from Pu Ngamjapao Haokip, Chief of Yangmun, on 21st May 1997 at Moreh (Pu Ngamjapao was a Sub-Divisional Officer, in the Naga National Council and a contemporary of Pu Lesimu Pochury, Kilongser a Minister in the Naga National Council, during the 1960s). Pu Lesimu Pochury had recounted the anecdote to Pu Ngamjapao. It was an account by Pu Pochury's father regarding the payment of tax and tributes to the chief of Aisan. A paraphrased quote of Pu Pochury's account is as follows:

Whenever we hear the sounds of gunshots from Aisan, we knew that it was time for us to go and pay our taxes and tributes. The

grain collected as a part of the tax was plentiful, so much so that in order to measure it one needed a spear to reach the top of the mound. On the occasions that the chief of Aisan paid a visit to the village, our people would carry him on a palanquin. The chief was always carried on a palanquin on his tours of the villages. On these tours the villagers would hide the pigs, lest they might have to hand them over to the chief. That is how it was -whatever the Aisan chief saw and found pleasing he could ask for and there was no question of refusing him.

The sovereign Kuki state of Zale'n-gam, with its complete system of government was already in existence prior to the establishment of the League of Nations and the United Nations. This was the land of the legendary Khupting and Ngambom, Ahsijolneng, Kuntamte and Changkhat-pu, Lenchonghoi and her brothers, the sisters Jollhing and Jolphal and Maneithangja, Galngam and Hangsai, Pujil and Langchal, and the Lendou brothers. It was a land of great beauty and valour, a land of seven mountains and seven valleys full of mystery and adventure, a land of peace and tranquillity. The legendary warrior Pu Galngam had marked the suzerainty of the Kukis in all corners of the territory of Zale'n-gam. The marks that he left still exist, and will remain for posterity. In total twenty four sites have been discovered. It was around the mid-nineteenth-century that the colonial British arrived in Zale'n-gam where the Kuki people had been living in blissful existence for the past millennium. The 1850s and the 1860s witness the first series of clashes between the British and the Kukis in Western Zale'n-gam, namely in the present day lower Assam and the Chittagong Hill tracts in Bangladesh. Col. E.B. Elly in 'The Great Kuki Invasion of 1860s' has recorded these conflicts. The British in their usual pompous manner referred to these clashes as a consequence of raids by the Kukis. The Kuki people regard this as warding off trespassers on their territory. In due course of time, the Chittagong hill tracts and Tipperah came under the sway of the British imperialist. The British putsch into Zale'n-gam continued into the following decades. It was firmly resisted by

the Kukis at all stages. The resistance climaxed in the 'Kuki rising 1917-1919', which occurred during WW I. After the war, the Kukis were made to pay dearly for what is termed by the British imperialist as 'rebellion'. As a part of the repressive policy of the British, the Kuki chiefs and other leaders were sent off to prisons in faraway Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Sadia in Assam and Tunggyi in Myanmar. This was done to ensure that the authority of the imperialist would not be challenged in Zale'n-gam. The Kuki villages were burnt down and the people were scattered. Many of them were put into concentration camps. Zale'n-gam itself was severed into two: the Eastern part was put under British Burma administration, and the Western part was put under British India administration. The Kuki people's hopes of recovering their lands and lost prestige were briefly revived during Second Kuki rising, 1942-1945. The Kukis joined Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and his Indian National Army (INA), who had teamed up with the Japanese that were advancing from Singapore. The Kukis took an active part in the war led by Netaji against the British, in the hope that after the war Zale'n-gam would be restored to them. More than one hundred and fifty Kuki INA pensioners remain. They bear testimony to the great efforts to be set free from the British yoke. The defeat of the Axis powers brought a crushing blow, yet again, to the Kuki people's hope for independence. This was a great set back for the Kukis as a nation. The period after 1919, and finally 1945, has been a period when Zale'n-gam fell into disarray, with all of its great chiefs and leaders either fallen in action or taken to prison. The general population was completely dispersed and displaced from their strongholds. Many became refugees. This period also witnessed the rise of Naga nationalism. The neighbouring Tangkhuls and Mulongs joined the tide of Naga nationalism and took advantage of the disarray in Zale'n-gam. Today, we witness that the same Manipur Naga people who were treated with sympathy, hospitality and provided sanctuary in Zale'n-gam are turning against the Kukis and claiming the land as their own. However, the spirit of Zale'n-gam is alive and its

territorial boundary is indelible in the hearts of its people. The sufferings and the legends of our forefathers have become a source of our strength and guidance. Therefore, the Kuki National Organisation (KNO) has been established with the avowed aim of hoisting the flag of Zale'n-gam amongst the flags of all the other free nations. The Kuki Armies are the defence wing of Zale'n-gam and they are committed to pursue the resurrection of Zale'n-gam.

CHAPTER VI

Galngam Kuki's Imprints in Zale'n-gam

The imprints of Kuki mythical hero, Galngam, in Zale'n-gam

Over 2,500 years ago, it is believed, in the free Kukicountry Zale'n-gam, a son was born to a Pu le Pi Senleh, of Molphei village. The couple named their son Galngam. Galngam's birth and childhood were said to be extraordinary. As he grew up, he excelled his friends in all walks of life. His father, Pu Senleh, while impressed with his son's feats, was equally bewildered, wondering whether to garner hope or to despair. Galngam grew up to be a legendary figure, extremely strong and swift. He was also known to be a very good sculptor. Besides, Galngam is famed to possess magical powers and to have fraternised with Hangsai the lion-man. Hangsai was the strongest of the lion people. None except Galngam, who was much feared for his magical prowess, could live among the lion-people. Among the Kuki clans, Galngam is known by different names depending on the dialects spoken by

Kuki communities inhabiting different regions. He is called Raingam, for example, among the Lushei and Anal people During his lifetime, Galngam scaled the length and breadth of Zale'n-gam There are various imprints attributed to Galngam, some on rocks and stone slabs, some in the form of sculptures and several phenomena in nature which can all still be witnessed in Kuki country till today. Till recently,some twenty-four such imprints have been discovered

They are listed under two categories, a) imprints and sculptures, and b) natural phenomena. They are as follows:

Imprints and sculptures.

1) Pu Galngam lived wherever he pleased in Zale'n-gam. He had numerous herds of cattle and Siel (mithun). He left his footprints in certain places where he tended the animals. Legend has it that he caused the stones to bear his footprintss and those of his herd of animals by spells of his magic. In Central Zale'n-gam (i.e. present day Churachandpur District), such marks are visible on the rocks along the river Tuilelon, near Valenkot (Valpakot) Village.

2) Whenever Pu Galngam went hunting, as the legend goes, he used to take a team of dogs. The paw marks of his dogs can be still be seen on the Machi hillock in Central Zale'n-gam (i.e. present day Chandel District).

3) In Tamenglong District (Central Zale'n-gam), the footprints of Pu Galngam are on a large rock, near Buning village.

4) On a mountain called Letsikhan, which is near Khampat town in Eastern Zale'n-gam, (present-day Burma), there is a bowl-shaped block of rock Pu Galngam, according to legend, washed his hands in the bowl after an afternoon snack during one of his hunting tripsby carving the bowl out of a block of rock

5) Near Chahong Village in North Central Zale'n-gam (i.e. present day Ukhrul District), there is a river in which Pu Galngam pierced a rock to set his fish traps The hole in the rock is still used by people to trap fish

6) During one of his sojourns in Zale'n-gam, as the leend goes, Pu Galngam spent a night near Nakecheng village in Central Zale'n-gam (Tamenglong District) where he sculptured a figure of a woman The sculpture remains till today It is a piece of work that reveals Pu Galngam's artistic qualities

7) The legend also recounts how Pu Galngam left a big menhir as a marker, now located near Hengkot village in Central Zale'n-gam (i.e. present day Churachandpur District). It still stands upright to this day

8) At Thangjing range in Churachandpur district of Central Zale'n-gam, there are imprints on a slab of rock on which Pu Galngam and his dog are said to have lain for the night - the marks of his posterior and the dog's testicles remain visible on the slab

9) On one occasion, the legend goes, Galngam and his wife were on a journey, related to be in the present day Tamenglong District of Central Zale'n-gam En route, they spent the night in a cave on the banks of the river named Tuilong The walls of the cave, white in colour retains the stains of their spittle The spittle is formed of the juices of the tobacco leaves they chewed The chewing of tobacco leaves that has been treated through a fermentation process is a part of the Kuki people's culture. It is especially popular among the middle-aged men and womenfolk

10) On Twilong river of Central Zale'n-gam, there is a waterfall Below the waterfall there is a sculpture of Suvai ke nu's vagina made by Pu Galngam This sculpted vagina bears the reputation of being able to engage men's penises of all shapes and sizes, for simulated sexual intercourse.

11) The paw marks Pu Galngam's dogs and the hoof marks of his goats are still traceable near Khonghang and Phaijangsung villages in Central Zale'n-gam

12) The paw marks of Pu Galngam's dog are still visible between Goboh and Vomsi villages, along the ridges.

13) In Churachandpur District of Central Zale'n-gam, Pu Galngam's stone stool at Kapei Range still remains. There are imprints of his bottom and private parts on it. In the same area, Pu Galngam set a menhir. It is said that a group of Meitei people tried to dig it out, but they all died in the process.

14) In between Lukhanpi Kabui and Langkhong Kuki villages of Tamenglong District, there is a basket of Pu Galngam. The basket was used to carry pigs. It was placed near a big rock, and it is still there today.

15) In Churachandpur District there is a sculpture of a woman's breasts on the walls of a narrow pass. The aesthetic quality of the sculpture is such that every one that passes by is enamoured by it. This sculpture is attributed to Pu Galngam, as yet another one of his artistic creations.

16) Near Phaikoh village (i.e. present day Ukhrul District) Pu Galngam built a rest house out of stone. It is still in good condition and it continues to function as a rest house for travellers.

Natural Phenomena

1) In Singhat sub-division of Central Zale'n-gam, there is a spot of land that, according to legend, Pu Galngam, in a fit of rage, set ablaze. The devastation caused by the fire was so great that the land was left completely parched. The area, known as Zalenphai today, is never enveloped by mist. Legend attributes this phenomenon to Pu Galngam's deed.

2) Near Bungpilon village in present day Thanlon sub-division (Central Zale'n-gam), one can see the water channel that Pu Galngam is said to have laid. The water continues to flow properly till today.

3) On Tohpa range, in Churachandpur District (Central Zale'n-gam), Pu Galngam, through his magical powers, is said to have bound up the wind to stop its blowing.

When Pu Galngam released it, the current of the wind was exceedingly strong. The wind current has not changed since.

4) On one range of hills located at present-day Kangpokpi, Sadar Hills in Central Zale'n-gam, Pu Galngam, it is said, laid a great trap. While laying the trap, much bothered by the frost and cold, he set fire to the whole place. There is never any mist or fog in this particular area now. This phenomenon is also attributed to Galngam's deed. A similar incident took place near the river named Twilang, near Kangpokpi.

5) Pu Galngam set up fishing nets along the Tuivai River of Central Zale'n-gam. At this point of the river, today, even though it is wide and deep, it is difficult for bigger boats to ply.

6) Pu Galngam left some beads from his necklace in a cave near Nakacheng village of present day Tamenglong District (Central Zale'n-gam). Although it appears easy enough to retrieve them, nobody has been able to do so.

7) Near Nakacheng village of present day Tamenglong District, Pu Galngam kept a cistern beneath a large rock. The water from this cistern can quench the thirst of many a weary traveller. But if one tries to take it away, the water ceases to flow.

8) Along Jiribam Road in Tamenglong District, there is a particular spot where Pu Galngam left three of his slingshot pellets. When one of the pellets was accidentally cracked,

blood began to ooze out from it. There are two pellets left at the same place

The above list is not an exhaustive one. Currently, twenty-four historical sites attributed to Pu Galngam have been discovered in Zale'n-gam. These are corroborated by kuki folktales. The Kukis, as in certain other cultures, regard that folktales are an embodiment of the traditional events and represent oral naratives of history of a people. According to our folktales, Pu Galngam left other tracks of his exploits in many different parts of Zale'n-gam. These will be included in future publications, as they become known.

For generations, our elders have extolled the exploits of Pu Galngam in traditional folksong. Pu PK Haokip (1997, pp.144-146) has compiled some of them as follows.

Galngam len-na Jaang gamlei lel lhinglaai.

Thaatui dungpang Twimingkun Seitol-gamlei Twile-loundung

Gaalngam tonglam jangma Sonna/nona.

CHAPTER VII

The Eastern Zale'n-gam (in present-day Burma)

The independent Kuki Nation's glorious capital was Hanlen. Hanlen city prospered during circa BC 100, in Eastern Zale'n-gam. During that period, a female child was born in the household of the great Chief. The child was named Hanlen Lenchonghoi, who grew up to be a woman of exceptional beauty and charm. The stories of Lenchonghoi's beauty spread far and wide, and they have been told over the centuries among the Kuki people in Zale'n-gam.

The news of her beauty also spread as far as Burma. Tatkong, a king (known as Khalvompu among the Kukis) from a neighbouring Burmese kingdom who had heard of Lenchonghoi's beauty wanted her for himself.

Pu Jampu was the first ruler of Hanlen. His reign was glorious and successful. After Pu Jampu's death his son Pu Jammang

succeeded him. Pu Jammang's reign was more resplendent and famed than his predecessor's. Pu Jammang ruled for around 35

years; his son Pu Jamkhai succeeded him in c. BC 35. The city of Hanlen was at its peak of glory during Pu Jamkhai's rule. The Tatkong king was deeply envious of Hanlen. The Tatkong king wanted to capture at least half of Hanglen and also wanted to possess its beautiful queen Lenchonghoi. As the Tatkong King could not defeat the Hanlen king at war, he proposed a game of dice. It was agreed between the two kings that whoever would win two consecutive games out of three would receive half the kingdom and wife of the looser. Pu Jamkhai won the game of dice twice in a row, but

the Tatkong king did not want to honour the agreement. The Tatkong king therefore wanted to deceive Pu Jamkhai. He told Pu Jamkhai that he needed to go away to attend an urgent matter; that he would fulfil the terms of their agreement upon his return. On this pretext, the Tatkong king went to persuade the Burmese Mon King to wage a joint war against the Hanlen kingdom. Being the elder of the clans, the Mon king agreed to help the Tatkong king.

The Hanlen king did not suspect the Tatkong king not to honour his promise. He did not anticipate any war and made no preparations for it. He was content with his own kingdom that was prosperous, and was very pleased with his beautiful, intelligent and charming queen. Being unprepared for war, after a long and arduous

battle the combined forces of Tatkong and Mon Kingdom overcame the Hanlen kingdom in Eastern Zale'n-gam. The Tatkong king occupied Hanlen but was not able to get the queen. Subsequently, the people of Hanlen kingdom who had lived in prosperity for a long period of time were now scattered. They settled in remote places such as Peju (near present Mandalay). They are now known as Okchin, which means southern Kuki or

southern Chin people. Another group crossed over to Jakhaing State and today they are known as Matupi, Kamplet, Khalkha, Falam, etc.

A third group followed the river Chindwin northwards and set up a large village called Kholkip, which is said to be on the site of present day Kalewa town. While living at Kholkip, the Tatkong and Mon Kingdoms continued to attack them, and so they shifted to Kholjang, which later became the city of Kalemyo. The enmity between the kingdom of Eastern Zale'n-gam and the Tatkong-Mon continued for a long time.

The Kukis of Kholjang lived prosperously for sometime but they did not forget the sufferings at the hands of Tatkong-Mon alliance, they wanted to avenge their defeat. Besides, the Tatkong-Mon people always wanted to wage war against the Kuki. The able-bodied men of Kholjang started an expedition against the Tatkong-Mon alliance, leaving their womenfolk and children behind. At the same time, the Tatkong-Mon alliance also came to attack Kholjang. However, finding only helpless women and children, there was no battle. The Burmese king puzzled by the absence of Kuki warriors, named Kholjang, Kalemyo, which means city of small children. During their settlement at Kholjang, the Kukis faced attacks from their enemies on various occasions and they suffered greatly. It was not possible for the people to carry out work normally for fear of sudden assault. Consequently, they shifted again to a new

place called Chimnoi. They prospered at the new site and after many years their village developed into a big town. This was possible as they no longer faced

enemy attacks and could devote their time for development purposes and other constructive activities. During this peaceful period there were many occasions of festive merry-making and singing that their neighbouring communities called them

Khongjai, which means 'drum beaters'. The population of Chumnoi multiplied greatly at this time and new settlements were set up one after another in many parts of Eastern Zale'n-gam, i.e. the whole of Upper Chindwin in the present day Sagaing Division of Burma. This period of peace and prosperity for the Kukis is said to have lasted more than a thousand years. There was no outside interference during this

period. It is envisaged that their rich Kuki culture, customs and traditions were formed during this golden era of Zale'n-gam.

During the period of the Hanlen kingdom in Eastern Zale'n-gam, the Kukis of Western and Central Zale'n-gam had also established their suzerainty. In the records of Moirang pre-history in Manipur, Chothe Thangvan Pakhangba who was also known as Ivang Puni Lai Thingri Nachousa ruled for one hundred and twenty years (BC 90 to AD 30). The section will be dealt with in chapter four.

In present day Burma the Kuki population is widely spread out in the Upper Chindwin. Some of the notable Kuki dominated areas in Burma are as follows.

1. Half of the Layshi Township.
2. Homelin township (the West Bank of Chindwin river)
3. Phongpyin (West Bank of Chindwin river)
4. Molelk (West Bank of Chindwin river)
5. Kalewa township (West Bank of Chindwin and Myitta river)
6. Kale (West Bank of Chindwin and Myitta river)
7. Tamu (West Bank of Chindwin and Myitta river)

Comprehensively, the Kuki area of eastern Zale'n-gam extends from the Indo-Burma international boundary up to Chindwin River in the East, Myitta River in the South and Nantaleik River in the North. In the reign of King Moe Kong of Burma, fifteen

prosperous villages of the Kuki people existed in the Kale-Kabaw Valley. This is found in an inscription called 'Kung Thaung Record'. The ruins and remnants of ancient Kuki villages are still visible in Eastern Zale'n-gam, i.e. the present day Kale Kabaw valley of Burma. It is also on record that in 1752 the Kuki warriors helped King U Aung Zaya, when he fought the Kings of Assam and Manipur.

During the golden era of the Kukis, the British who were expanding their empire in Asia, annexing new territories, started to encroach into Zale'n-gam. In order to preserve their independence, the Kukis fought bravely against the British and their supporters in the Kuki rising, 1917-1919. After a prolonged and bitter struggle, the might of the British Empire ultimately began to prevail upon the Kuki people. The British arrested the Kuki leaders and chiefs of Eastern Zale'n-gam and sent them in large numbers to Homalin Jail. Thirteen of the main Kuki chiefs were jailed for three years at Taungyi Jail. Following the suppression of the Kukis, the whole of Eastern and Western Zale'n-gam was kept under the jurisdiction of the British Burma and British India, respectively. During the time of W.W.I, no other community either in present day Northeast India or present day Northwest Burma resisted the British like the Kukis had done, in order to protect the sovereignty of Zale'n-gam. The British ruled over Zale'n-gam. They took away the power of Kuki chieftains while selectively allowing some other princely states to have some autonomy. The Kuki rising, 1917-1919 took place during the reign of the last Burmese king Min Do Mein. At the end of the war, the Burmese king awarded a Pung long to the Kukis, in recognition of their heroic resistance struggle. The Pung long is now found in Pakohu (or Pakhup village). However, while the recognition of the Burmese king is appreciated, the Kukis cannot reconcile themselves to the loss of Zale'n-gam and its division into two parts by the British.

In 1939, World War II erupted in Europe and spread to the whole world. In India and Burma, Netaji Subash Chandra Bose and Aung San led the struggle to attain freedom from the British. The Kukis who had lost their independence were always restive since the 1917-1919, Kuki rising. Therefore, when the opportunity presented itself, the Kukis under the leadership of Pu Onkholet Haokip alias Japan Pakang, joined the INA-Japanese alliance in order to regain Zale'n-gam. All the Kukis of Eastern and Western Zale'n-gam allied themselves to the Axis powers during WWII, unlike Burma and India that supported the British. As a result, after the warended in 1947, the British, while granting independence to both Burma and India, split Kuki Zale'n-gam between the two newly formed countries. During the talks to grant independence to Burma, the British Prime Minister Lord Clement Atlee enquired whether Gen. Aung San had consulted the different ethnic tribes of Burma. To reach a settlement with the various tribes, a conference that came to be known as 'The Pinlon Conference' was held at Panglong City. Pu Onkhomang and Pu Ngamkhothong represented the Kukis. However, after gaining independence, the Burmese betrayed the Kukis yet again (the first time being the betrayal by the Burmese king of Pu Jamkhai by not honouring the agreement of ceding half his kingdom and his wife after loosing the game of dice). This time the Burmese did not grant the Kukis self-rule and a state, which had been promised at the 'Pinlon conference'.

The Kuki people would have reconciled to live in peace and work for progress in whichever country they presently are. However, perpetual harassment and discrimination by the Military Junta of Burma is beginning to make the Kuki people realise that peace and progress is not going to be possible for them in Burma. The Military Junta would need to demonstrate a drastic change of attitude and take positive steps to allay the concerns of the Kuki people. Neither of the Governments, of India nor of Burma has taken into account the need and aspirations of the Kukis for a self governed geographical entity.

The Kuki Students' Democratic Front, Burma (KSDF) has submitted in 1993-1994 a representation highlighting the Human Rights violation perpetrated on the ethnic Kuki community by SLORC. The following recent historicalincidents testify the discriminatory treatment of the Kuki people by the Burmese government.

1 In the 1947 re-organisation of an independent Burma, a Committee was formed to examine the formation of a Kuki State in the Sagaing Central Division. Pu Somkhothong and Pu Ngamjang represented the Kukis at the concerned Committee along with the Somra Naga tribe representatives Pu Jasocho and Pu Tobee. Due to conflicting views between the two tribes, the Committee could not conclude and the matter has been left pending.

2 The Kukis remained persistent in preserving their own distinct territory. In 1949, the proposal to amalgamate the Kuki areas of Sagaing Division with the Chin Hills State did not materialise because the Kukis resisted. They insisted on their demand for a separate autonomous Kuki State. However, the Burmese Government has been hesitant to grant autonomy to Kukis in Burma. Instead the government has adopted a concerted policy to dispossess the Kukis of their land by transferring ethnic Burmese population to settle in the Kuki regions. The Burmese settlements set up by the Military Junta in the Kabow Valley, a Kuki region, are as follows. Onchija, Tanan, Myothit, Nanaugow, Mantong, Ywatha, etc. These settlements primarily seek to dispossess the Kukis of their land and symbolises the ongoing discrimination against the Kukis. They constitute part of a deliberate design of the government to forcefully dominate the Kuki people.

3 In 1967, General Ne Win's Government of the Revolutionary Council penalised 20,000 Kuki people. This was carried out

in the 'Khadawmi Operation' led by U Muang, in the pretext that the Kukis were not in possession of, or are holding forged National Registration and Family Registration cards. As a result many Kukis were forced to leave Burma.

4 Since 1990 the State Law and Order Restoration Committee of Burma has been extracting forced-labour from the Kukis in the Kabow Valley. The Military Junta has dispersed many Kuki villagers from their traditional lands. One such example occurred in 1992 with the village of Watsu.

5 In1993, Nungkam, a Kuki village was burnt and bulldozed. The village Church was also burnt down. The apparent reason for this was that the Kuki people refused to convert to Buddhism. A new military settlement, Saya San Ywo, was established at the site of Nungkam village.

6 At Phailen, a Kuki village in the Kabow Valley, the 89th battalion of Burmese army were based. One of the sepoys deserted the camp carrying away with him a few rifles and ammunitions. As a consequence, a platoon of Burmese soldiers stormed into Phailen village and killed four people. They also arrested twelve Kuki religious leaders of Phailen Baptist Church. The warriors demanded a ransom of 200,000 Kyats for the release of the church leaders. Pu Mangpu (45), Rev Yangkholet (48), Chairman of village; Pu Thangkhai (28), Pastor of Phailen Baptist Church, and Pu Haopau (25) were all brutally tortured to death, in the first week of August 1993. Pu Maungpu's house was demolished and his cows and domestic pets were used as ration for the Burmese soldiers. His wife was imprisoned in Monywa jail. She remains in prison till date. BBC Burmese Section broadcast this news on 11th August 1993.

7 The Military Junta has changed the name of Kuki villages into Burmese names. This has been done with a view to erasing any memory of Zale'n-gam. The following are the

names of the Kuki villages that have been replaced by Burmese names

	KUKI	BURMESE
i)	Motjang	Inchinkong
ii)	Teijang	Kyunpintha
iii)	Valpabung	Chulknetgyi
iv)	Lallim	Namunta
v)	Yangnouphai	Ye Aye
vi)	Haipijang	Ye Nam
vii)	Vokso	Wetsu
viii)	Cheti	
ix)	Namminhan	
x)	Namphalong	
xi)	Maitong	
xii)	Towa	
xiii)	Thamanti	
xiv)	Khampat	
xv)	Tongcho	
xvi)	Swelaybo	
xvii)	Twisa Kanmahji	

8. Furthermore, in order to erase the history of the Kuki nation, the Military Junta has adopted an educational policy that has no provision for including Kuki literature, neither at the pri-

mary nor higher level syllabi at school, or in the University courses.

9 The Military Junta has also adopted policies to ensure that the Kukis would remain educationally backward. There is not a single Junior High School, High School, College, or University in the Kuki areas, there are only Primary Schools in the Kuki areas. This is yet another Burmese method of suppressing the Kuki nation

10 The Military Junta has not provided any administrative or developmental centre in the Kuki areas. These are, on the other hand, located in the Burmese populated areas despite their population being less than the Kuki areas. This is a deliberate attempt to keep the Kukis backward

11 The Military Junta has not provided Health centres in the Kuki areas, whereas they exist in the Burmese areas. This inhumanity is designed to ensure that the Kukis lead unhealthy lives and gradually disappear from the land. In the meantime the Burmese people would literally grow in strength and number and completely overtake the Kukis.

All these incidents of harassment, torture and discrimination by the Military Government have been a matter of deep concern for the Kukis. The Kukis are shocked because they have never raised the banner of rebellion against independent Burma, unlike the other ethnic groups. The treatment of the Kukis as anti-national elements is confounding. The only rational one can think of is the issue of religion:

the Kukis are being persecuted because they are Christians and refuse to convert to Buddhism. This is rather odd because Burma has at no time declared itself as a theocratic Buddhist State. Buddhism teaches non-violence, but the actions of the military regime are contradictory to their teaching. The repeated harassment of the Military Junta has alienated the Kuki people. They no longer feel a part of Burma. Consequently, they have

begun to assert their self-determination. It is now clear that Kukis will not have peace or a sense of security until they regain their traditional territory and be recognised as a Nation-State.


KOHIMA
EASTERN ZALEN-GAM
Central
IMPHAL
CHURACHANDPUR
MOREH
INDIA
MYANMAR

CHAPTER VIII

KUKI PEOPLE OF NAGALAND

To quote S.C Jamir, Chief Minister of Nagaland, in the Nagaland Post, the Kukis constitute 30,000 in Nagaland.

In Nagaland today, Kuki settlements are concentrated in Peren Sub-Division, and Medziphema Sub-Division. In his Book "the Angami Nagas" – Published 1921- J.H Hutton, Deputy Commissioner of the then Naga Hills, recorded "the Kukis were migrating north when the Sarkar came into contact with the Angamis and the Kacha Naga villages". The fact that emerges from this is that the Kuki Tribes had migrated and were entrenched in the Naga Hills long before J.H Hutton's Commissionership and long before the then Naga Hills was carved out from North Cachar and Nowgong District in 1876 – ref. Gazetteer of India, Nagaland, Kohima District by Dr.H.Boreh (P.167). It is also a fact that till the recent ethnic killings, the Kuki Tribes in Nagaland

enjoyed peaceful co-existence with their neighbours, mainly the Zeliang Tribes. It is on record that the Kukis and Khonoma village entered into a "Peace Treaty" by drinking water through the barrel of gun - friendship gifts like spears were exchanged the Kukis helped Khonoma, Semoma Khel, in their construction of a fort, called Semo-Kunda which still stands today

B C. Allen in his book "Naga Hills and Manipur" written and published in the year 1874-75 on page No.33 has made the survey of the population of Naga Hills as under:

Tribe	No. of Villages	Average Population
Angami	64	450
Lotha	61	293
Ao	52	578
Rengma	10	420
Kacha Naga	26	248
Sema	9	523
Kuki	26	128

Based on B C Allen's account it can be seen that the date and the antiquity of the advent of the Kukis to the present day Nagaland cannot be far behind the other sister tribes. Further the present population structures also tend to tally with the account of B C Allen

Against the backdrop of this spirit of aged friendship, the recent killings came as a surprise to the Kukis, and they were literally caught unawares. Some of them are listed below:

i) Cold blooded killing of 12NNC workers at old Chalkot village on 13.8.92.

ii) Abducted and killing of Late Thangkhongam Hangsing and Late Letlal Hangsing of Phanjang village around 12 April, 1993

iii) Killing of Late Paokhokam Singson. (Executive Member NNC) at Athibung on 23.5.93

iv) Attack of Phanjang village on 5 6 93, burning down 20 houses and a number of granaries, spot killing of one old man Late Chunglim Kuki, injuring 5 persons mercilessly

v) Attack of Old Chalkot village on 14 6 93, burning down 27 houses and killing 6 person(1 NAP, 5 villagers-all Kukis) which includes Ngultang Hangsing Chief of Chalkot

vi) Assassination of Late Mangkholen Hangsing Senior I A S officer, the Commissioner and Secretary to the Department of Taxes and Excise at his resident in Signal basti, Dimapur on 18th September 1993 at 8.30 a.m.. Pu Hangsing was assassinated in cold blood by three men belonging to NSCN-IM cadres around 8 00 AM inside his residence at Signal Basti in Dimapur, Nagaland.

Pu Mangkholen was a political visionary as president of Kuki Students Federation of Nagaland, Assam and Manipur, in 1959 he linked up with Kuki leaders, such as BK Hrangkhawl in Tripura, and others from Burma and the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh. As a sportsman, he was a team player and demonstrated excellent skills, particularly in football In 1964, Pu Mangkholen obtained first position in MA English literature in Guwahati University He was also the topper in the Nagaland Public Service Commission examinations in 1965, and extraordinarily began his career as Extra Assistant Commissioner, rather than as Circle Officer He was awarded the President gold medal for meritorious service in 1976.

At Pu Mangkholen's funeral service, Pu Tobu Kevichusa, general secretary, Naga National Council, remarked that he was compelled to make a statement Isak and Muivah, leaders of NSCN IM have proclaimed among the international community that the Government of India have killed innocent Nagas and abused their human rights On the contrary, here is a stark example of their

role of engaging in fratricidal activity by killing blameless people like Mangkholen to benefit their sectarian policy. One begs the question if Isak and Muivah were true leaders of the people, why are they concerned with creating 'small houses' only to serve as tiny pockets for a select few rather than build 'large houses' to accommodate the whole nation? Such activity reflects the narrow-minded politics of NSCN-IM.

Sadly, on 4 June 1996, Pu Tobu Kevichusa, who firmly stood for peace and unity of the people, was also eliminated by the NSCN-IM at Dimapur. PS Haokip, President of Kuki National Organisation, sent a letter of condolence to the President of Angami People's Organisation.

vii) Killing of Late Paosei Singsit, President Kuki Students' Organisation (KSO), Nagaland and Late Paokholam Chonglo between Zalukie and Saijang village on 23 October 1993. Pu Paosei Singsit was founder of Kuki Students Organisation, Delhi and its first president. He was deeply concerned for the Kuki people and committed to improving their lot politically. En route to Athibung Kuki area Pu Paosei and Pu Paolam Chonglo, KSO's general secretary, were murdered by the NSCN-IM between Zalukie and Saijang. They were on a mission to encourage their people, who were terrorised by the NSCN-IM to pay taxes; several people had already been killed, too. As a mark of respect to his memory, an annual Pu Paosei Singsit Award is given by KSO in Delhi to individuals who have contributed significantly in social services.

viii) Killing of Late Heljang Singson Chief of Shirima, Late Onthang Haokip Govt. Officer, Evangelist Thanghen Singson, Paokai Haokip college student with two minor boys on 15.12.1994.

Participation of Kukis in Nagaland

Kukis, as indigenous people in Nagaland, have from the outset participated actively in the pursuit of independence for Nagaland

Kukis were members of the Naga army much before Muivah appeared on the scene of Naga politics. For example, Pu Lengjang Kuki was a signatory of the memorandum submitted by the Naga Club to the Simon Commission in 1929. Kuki was one of the five tribes that formed the Naga Club in 1919 which later changed to Naga National Council. In 1946, Pu Seikhohen Kuki and Pu Jangkhosei Kuki (Ex-NPSC member) were elected as members of Naga National Council. NNC was the prime mover of Naga nationalism. The late Pu Seikhohen Kuki was also one of the selected members of the constitution Drafting Committee of NNC. He was also included in the first Naga Delegation that went to Delhi to meet Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, to discuss the issue of Naga Independence.

Participation of Kuki in the Naga Plebiscite held in 1951

The Naga Voluntary Plebiscite was completed on 16 May 1951. The Kukis in Nagaland participated in the plebiscite, voting in favour of Naga Independence. This marks Kuki's unflinching support to the undisputed leadership of Phizo. The Kuki leaders of the time, many of whom have passed away, are Onpao Kuki (President, Kuki Union), Paochung Kuki (Chief of Khaibung), Dr Lenzalal Kuki (Chief of Bungsang, father of late Seikhohen Kuki) and several other Kuki Chiefs. Indelible historical records exist to bear witness to Kukis' indigenous status in Nagaland.

Khaplang, leader of NSCN, has made the following observation (On Naga Hoho's Naga Integration, dated 5 June 2002, p7)

Simon Commission: The 1929 memorandum submitted to Sir John Simon by the Naga and considered as another footstool of Nagas' right to political existence and Sovereignty had other Nagas but not the Tangkhuls. Had the Tangkhuls been Nagas then, what were these Tangkhuls doing then? The Kukis has been erased to

almost nothingness had the NSCN not been there but remember, Kukis were the main participants of this Commission. However, the Tangkhuls who have never been Nagas and immediately taking identity of a Naga and running criminalism against the Kukis is undeniably terrorism. And, if the Kukis, the main participant can be deprived of Naga identity for the sake of Tangkhuls then, what about the Tangkhuls who never participated? Absolutely no to Tangkhuls!

Despite the cordial relationship that has prevailed between Kuki and Naga in Nagaland, Muivah has unremittingly pursued a racially motivated campaign to malign and discredit Kuki. Relevant to the history of Nagaland, Ms Adino, President Naga National Council (NNC) and daughter of Phizo, in an interview with, pointed out that Tangkhuls did not want to join the Naga movement, preferring to remain with Meitei in Manipur. On Naga Hoho's Naga Integration (p12), too, it is clearly stated that the Tangkhuls were given the opportunity from 1964 to 1972 to join the union of Nagaland. However, in 1972 Rishang Keishing denounced such an idea as deplorable, and declared that Meiteis and Tangkhuls were brothers and that they were inseparable. Further to that, Mr Keishing, as a Chief Minister of Manipur, passed a Bill, which confirmed that not an inch of Manipur would be merged with Nagaland. Tangkhul is also referred to as the elder of Meitei (p8). All of these leads to the question: Why are Tangkhuls, both civilians and those who are members of Muivah's NSCN faction, engaging in terrorist activities on Naga soil?

In 1995 two Angami men from Khozuma village of Nagaland were persuaded by Tangkhuls to go and purchase buffalo from a Kuki village in Manipur. This was at a time when NSCN-IM was engaged in killing innocent Kuki villagers in great numbers. The Kuki villagers were unaware of the two men's activity. However, when the people of Khozuma realised the two men had not returned they assumed Kukis had killed them. Consequently, in 1995 the Angami People's Organisation (APO) served quit notice

to the Kukis of Nagaland, the deadline being set for 25 July. At Delhi, on 24 July 1995, the Kuki Students Organisation went on a rally and presented a memorandum to the National Human Rights Commission, appealing for intervention. Fortunately, the intervention took place in the nick of time and the Angamis, realising foul play was involved, retracted the quit notice. The Kuki National Organisation is grateful to the Angami people for their timely discernment and positive action. The organisation also appreciates the role of Pu SC Jamir, former Chief Minister of Nagaland, in resolving the sensitive issue.

Relationship between Zeliang people and Kuki people

The Angamis did not welcome the Zeliang people, who arrived in Naga Hills from Assam. The Khonoma Angamis therefore assaulted the Zeliangs, raping their women while the men folk were made to stand nearby and bear the lighted torch. On the strength of their relationship, the Kuki chiefs dissuaded Angamis from abusing Zeliangs. It was this humanitarian intervention that enabled more and more Zeliang population to migrate from Assam and establish their settlement in Nagaland. In the 1950s, more Rongmeis arrived from Manipur.

The Zeliangs were settled in Kuki land. As owners of the land, Kuki chiefs received tax from the Zeliang tribe. In the Insoung region, tax was paid to the Kuki chief of Jolpi, in M'boulo and Boulo regions, to Kuki chief of Sailhem, in the Inkeo range, to Kuki chief of Sinjol, in the Tening range, to Kuki chief Bombal. In 1968, Kuki chief of Tolbung received from Basampui (Neisempui) tax for the last time. At a solemn ceremony it was decided that payment of tax would discontinue and the two peoples would live together as jol (traditional form of friendship).

However, today, we experience a rather ungrateful attitude, which is also unsettling. Rather than show gratitude to Kukis, Zeliangs, have soiled their hands by joining Muivah and went on the

rampage against Kuki, killing as many as 150 of them. That Zeliangs should treat the Kukis in such a manner is inconceivable. Muivah has managed to reduce the Zeliangs to such a dehumanized state that they are now capable of treating the Kukis this way. The Zeliangs also mercilessly burnt down 14 Kuki villages. To make matters worse, influenced by Muivah's racist anti-Kuki ideology, their villages in Peren sub-division are subjected to a humiliating forced payment of Rupees fifty, every five years, per village, in order to acknowledge the landownership of Zeliangs[11] (Govt. Nagaland, NO.CON-7/86, countersigned by Wepretso Mero, Additional DC). This illegal act was carried out at gunpoint, and will not be countenanced by anybody. It will also be inadmissible in any court. If Zeliangs ever want to redeem their status a decent community, they must free themselves from Muivah's manipulations.

In contrast to Phizo's broad-minded Naga nationalism, mean-minded Tangkhuls, who share similar traits as Muivah, have exhibited a narrow outlook. This has primarily been because of their emotionally charged sense of vendetta against Kuki since 1950s. On 26 May 1987, Pakang Haokip of Maokot in Ukhrul District was assassinated by the NSCN-IM. Following this incident, the Kukis decided to form a Consultative Committee of Kuki Leaders (CCKL), on 4 July 1987. In order to raise awareness on the Kuki plight, the committee submitted a memorandum to Rishang Keishing, Chief Minister of Manipur, which included the list of 42 Kukis killed and 64 of their villages uprooted (see APPENDIX II). Needless to say, no concrete measures were taken up by the government to help the Kukis. The apathy of the government was followed by the onslaught against Kuki led by NSCN-IM from 1992-1997. As pointed out above, unable to bear the continued badgering and the realization that government would not be able to provide protection, the Kukis started to fight back. This act of self-defence against the aggression of NSCN-IM, unfortunately was reported as 'conflict' between Kukis and Nagas. It must be reiterated that there is no 'ethnic conflict' or 'clashes'

between Naga and Kuki, there is only aggression by the NSCN (IM) and defence by the latter.

It is worth mentioning that Naga casualties (as a result of Kuki retaliation to Naga aggression) do not include women and children. This was owing to Kuki tradition to maintain honour in war. During the 'Kuki rising, 1917-1919', at the Oktan durbars, Pu Tintong, C-in-C of Kuki army, strictly forbade his men to kill JC Higgins, the British political agent, who had gone to meet the Kukis in relation to recruitment for the Labour Corps. Pu Tintong is recorded to have remarked that it was against Kuki custom and a cowardly act, too, to behave like the Meitei people who in 1891 invited the British Chief Commissioner to their court for a meeting and killed him and his entourage in cold blood. The above list of Kuki casualties confirms that NSCN-IM, contrary to the claim of Muivah, was deliberately engaged in afflicting civilians. It is time for Muivah to try and exercise a degree of self respect, and also try to serve his followers with some honour. He must therefore discontinue falsifying data and seek professional psychiatric help to try to overcome his pathological disposition to lie. Muivah alleges that various Indian newspapers have falsely accused him of committing many crimes. The evidence cited above are corroborated by the media in several Nagaland newspapers, such as Nagaland Post, Ura Mail, Naga Banner as well as in other local and national newspapers. Relatives of victims who have died at the hands of NSCN-IM- led Manipur Nagas are still alive to provide eyewitness accounts.

A clarification concerning Kukis in Nagaland

The Kuki National Organisation explicitly states that issues concerning Kuki in Nagaland are separate from those related to Kuki in other parts, such as in present day Manipur, Assam, Tripura and Burma. In a press release on 13 March 1994, the Kuki Inpi of Nagaland categorically stated that the Kukis of

Nagaland are not a part of the Kuki movement that is taking place elsewhere. Muivah's attempt to mix up Kuki politics, intended to whip up anti-Kuki sentiments in Nagaland, must be categorically ignored

CHAPTER IX

KUKI PEOPLE OF ASSAM (WESTERN ZALE'N-GAM)

The North Cachar Hills District of Assam, covering an area of 4890 Square Kilometres was carved out of Cachar district and is surrounded by Nowgong and Karbi-Anglong in the north, Cachar district in the South, Nagaland, Manipur and Karbi- Anglong in the east and Meghalaya in the west.

The present-North Cachar district has been home to different ethnic groups like Dimasa, Kuki, Zeme Naga, Karbi, Jaintia and even the non-tribal Bengalis and Nepalis. According to the 2001 General census of India, the total population of North Cachar Hills is 1, 86, 189. Six distinct tribes of North Cachar, listed with a record of their populations under reports of AJ Moffat Mills and Allen, are tabled as follows (Mackenzie, 1884, 145)

	Mills (1854)	Allen (1859)
Hill Cacharis	3, 940	6, 735
Hozai Cacharis	1, 170	3, 200
Mikirs	1, 820	5, 076
Old Kookies (Kukis)	3, 335	3, 709
New Kookies (Kukis)	7, 575	4, 763
Aroong Nagas	3, 505	5, 885

In 1875 the population recorded was as follows: Cacharis: 10, 824, Kukis 15, 080, Nagas 7, 536, Mikirs 4, 335 (*Op cit*, 145)

As indicated by the Government records above, the Kukis are the first settlers in the areas forming the bulk of present-day North Cachar Hill District. Owing to some vested interests a few writers of Assam have projected Kuki habitations to be part of the Dimasa Kingdom, basing their judgment on the present demographic profile of the region. There are no historical records of the existence of any kingdom other than indigenous peoples, such as Kukis, who settled in these territories from prehistoric times. Concrete evidence of settlement found are of Kuki villages like Teikhang at the foot of Borail, Ginbeng near Retzol, Jampi at Lailenbung (now Nariadisa) and Ngente village. Their settlement into this area began in 1859, with seven villages. Many more Kuki settlements were in existence as the region form part of the Kuki ancestral lands, which were included in political boundaries established by the British. The Dimasa settlements in the area began only after the Ahom invasion of Dimapur. When the Ahom King invaded the Dimasa King with his capital at Dimapur, presently in the state of Nagaland, the Dimasas fled to Maibang and built a temporary palace there in the early part of the 17th century.

During the early part of 18th century, due to the repeated raids and invasions by the Ahoms, the Dimasas shifted their capital to Khaspur. Badly defeated in one of the Ahom invasions, Shri Tamradhvaj, the Dimasa King, fled his capital Maibang and reached Khaspur, where he established his new capital. Following the Ahom invasion, some Dimasas joined their King at Khaspur, the new capital, while a considerable number moved into and settled in the North Cachar Hills or NC Hills.

The North Cachar Hills was annexed to the British territory in the year 1832. From about 1828 and 1829, Tularam Senapati became the Chief Principal of the Dimasas in the North was constant engaged in feuds with Raja Govind Chunder of Cachar. Many of them moved further to the west up to the present Jaintia Hills of Meghalaya through Sangbar area of NC Hills.

After the British annexed NC Hills and brought the administration of the land, Tula Ram Senapati was recognised as the Chief of the hills in the north after David Scott persuaded Raja Govind Chunder of Cachar. Thus, the North Cachar Hills became an British India government's administrative unit in 1829. Tularam was entrusted to look after a specified area of the hills covering about **2000 sq. miles**. In 1875, according to records available the total population of Dimasas in the province was a mere 10, 824, whereas the Kuki population, as shown above, stood at 15, 080. Zeimi Nagas numbered around 7536, all of whom were driven into the North Cachar Hills by Angami Nagas. The Mikirs (now Karbi) numbered 4335 out of the total population of 37775.

The overall population of NC Hills over different periods as per available data is given below:

1856: 24, 369	1857: 29, 428	1857: 37, 775
1951: 39, 663	1961: 54, 390	1971: 76, 047
1981: 1, 07, 089	1991: 1, 50, 801	2001: 1, 88, 079

The increase in population during a period of 76 years from 1875 to 1951 is negligible, an increase of only 1, 888. The population of all original hill peoples formed the bulk of NC Hills' demography till 1952, when the status of Autonomous District Council, under the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution, was accorded to the district. Since then, the population of North Cachar Hills increased by leaps and bounds. Dimasas, in several waves of migration from plain areas like Hojai, Cachar, Lanka, poured into the district to take advantage of the new ADC. They steadily outnumbered not only the Kuki population, but also the total population of all the original hill peoples. Mills' and Allen's reports cited in the table above also clearly show the detailed break-up of the population of North Cachar Hills showing hill Kacharis (Mills: 3, 940 + Allen 6, 735 Total 10, 635) and plains or Hozai Kachari (Mills 1, 170 + Allen 3, 260 = Total 4430) as vastly differently. The population of the plains Cacharis was just about one-third of the hill Cacharis. Today, the demographic change of NC Hills is stark. For example, of the total population of 1, 88, 079 the Dimasa population (as per census 2001) has crossed 65. 000 while the Kukis are approximately 32, 249.

KUKI DEFENCE OF THEIR LAND IN NORTH CACHAR HILLS

The continuous raids and atrocities on the Dimasas and the Kacha Nagas (better known as Zeme Nagas) by the Angamis desolated many Dimasa villages and threatened peace in the area. The Government failed to contain the situation, as the British troops were inept at jungle warfare. Meanwhile, Tularam Senapati had handed over his responsibilities to his son Nakulram Barman and Brajnath Barman. Both made all endeavours to win over the Angamis, but without much success. On 3rd April 1853 the Angami warriors attacked Semkhor and killed 86 Dimasas, captured 115, wounded many, and looted and burnt 5 villages. Nakulram Barman led 300 followers and proceeded against the Angami Nagas for

retaliation. A bloody encounter ensued where Nakulram was trapped and cut to pieces, and many of his followers slain.

Lieut Bivar, the Junior Assistant of North Cachar, in recognition of Kuki ownership of land and their superior war tactics, submitted a plan to the Government of Bengal envisaging the establishment of a Kuki colony as a buffer at the east of the river Langting (which became known as Diger Kuki Area later) to check the Naga raids. The plan was recommended by Col Jerkins, commissioner of Assam and approved by the Lieut Governor of Bengal.

The Kukis were hard working and self-reliant people. Their deep association with their ancestral lands was reflected in their earnest efforts to defend it. They were the only tribe capable of defending themselves against the Angami Nagas. Kuki chieftainship engendered a strong sense of discipline among the people, which made their administration efficient, which the Angamis acknowledged. It may be noted that the Kukis and Khonoma Angamis became bonded friends. They drank wine from the barrel of the gun, broke the skull of the animal and intestines killed for the feast to signify that any side breaking the agreement of peace and harmony would similarly face the barrel of the gun and have his skull and intestines broken.

Taking advantage of Kuki people's innate inclination to keep their land peaceful and their camaraderie with the Angami Nagas, the British Officers saw an opportunity to bring peace to the region. They offered waiver from taxes for 10 (ten) years (renewed afterwards to 25 years) and firearms with ammunition to the Kukis if they would agree to move some of their settlements to east of the river Langting in order to form a buffer between the haggled Dimasas and the raiding Angamis. The Kukis agreed with the terms and conditions, because for them, there could be no better deal than getting such bonuses for doing something that they would otherwise also have done as a duty, to protect the peace of

their own country. Kuki 'militia 100 strong was raised as a protection against Angami raids' (*Ibid*).

Thereafter, the Angami incursions ceased. The Dimasa settlements in North Cachar Hills to be seen today owe their existence to Kuki protection. The entire region is referred to by the Kukis as "MAP GAM" which means land free of taxes. Later on, when the Dimasa villages, which deserted during the Angami raids were re-settled, the area was put under the Diger Mauzaudar, a quasi-judicial authority. Diger is one of the oldest villages of the Dimasas beyond the river Langting. But this Mauzadar could not handle the cases pertaining to the Kukis because of difference in custom, culture and language. A separate Mauzadar, a Kuki, was appointed for the task. Late Haokhomang Changsan, also known as 'THINGVOM TE', which denotes his position as the principal chief of the area, was the first such Mauzadar. His eldest son, Pu Chungjahao Changsan, who is still alive and is the chief of Thingvom village, is the Mauzadar of the area at present. The creation of a separate Kuki Mauzadar Area symbolises and provide document to the age-old peaceful co-existence between the Kukis and Dimasas. The area was officially known as Diger Kuki Area till early 2007. In place Diger Kuki Area the new MAC constituency, named DIGER CONSTITUENCY was created in a malicious design to obliterate Kuki affinity to the land.

Besides the defence of the NC Hills, the British also sought the assistance of Kukis to defend South Cachar from incursions. In 1850 a 200 strong Kuki levy was raised from the local Kukis of Cachar at the request of Maj Lister, to assist the armed police battalion in controlling and protecting the borders. Several check post manned by the Kuki levy were established along the Cachar frontier to check incursion from the neighbouring people. The Cachari King of Khaspur in Cachar also approached the Kuki chief, namely, Sanvung of the Lhangum clan, a Kuki tribe, in times of desperation caused by Muslim invaders from Sylhet in Bangladesh. The Kuki chiefs helped the Raja of Cachar by

deploying 800 Kuki fighters against the Muslim invaders to protect and save the Cachari kingdom at Khaspur. The Raja succeeded in driving out the invaders with the help of Kuki warriors and gave gold souvenirs as a token of appreciation and respect to the Kuki chief. These items are still preserved.

A 100 strong Kuki Militia was also installed at Gunjung about 40 kms off Haflong for the same purpose when Gunjung was the headquarters of the North Cachar Hills. During Sambhudan insurrection of 1881-82 against the British officers where two servants and a sick policeman were killed at Gunjung on 15th January 1882, the Kuki Militia left Gunjung as the menace was created by the Dimasa group themselves under the leadership of Sambhudan, not by other invaders, as they were supposed to check the Angamis and other outside invaders.

A brief compilation of historical facts testifying to North Cachar Hills being part Zale'n-gam, Kuki ancestral land, are given below.

1. The British called the Kukis Hill men. Lt Col F Jenkins (Agent to the Governor General, North-east Frontier), in his letter to AJ Moffat Mills, Judge of Sudder Court, in 1853 stated that the Kukis were the first settlers in North Cachar Hills.

2 The Dimasas were called Sons of River as the word 'Di'(in Dimasa) means river, 'ma' great and 'sa' son, i.e. the son of the great river, which signifies that they are originally plain tribes, residing in river valleys, not the hills.

3 In the book *Cachar under the British rule in Northeast India* (Radiant Publishers, New Delhi), by Jayanta Bhusan Battacharjee, which was first publish only in 1977, the Dimasa Kingdom covered a vast territory from Sadya to the present North Cachar Hills, with its headquarters at Dimapur, after Pushya Varman, the founder of Varman Dynasty, expelled them from Kamrup in 4th century AD. This is an absurd distortion of history because there is no trace of the ex-

istence of any Kingdom in North Cachar Hills till the Dimasas were driven out by the Ahoms from Dimapur and fled to Maibang in north Cachar.

4 The Kukis, who lived in the hilly region, were not easily accessible. Historians had no knowledge of them and therefore were unable to write about them. However, their settlement of the region and the protection they provided to people around them much before the British arrived are well known. Historians can only hazard taking ignorance about these facts. Legendary Kuki folk tales of *Lengbente* and *Zamdilu* were feats of Kuki Heroes enacted in NC Hills.

5 The British officers did not advocate ownership of land by any particular tribe. Their duty was to look after the land and its people and to defend their administered area from outsiders. Tularam Senapati wanted to occupy Khaspur by driving out Govind Chandra, the Cachar Raja, and ignited an internecine war in the region. With a view to achieving long-lasting peace, David Scott, a British officer, convinced the Raja of Cachar to allow Tularam to be appointed as the chief in the hills of the North in 1829. Since then, the north Cachar Hills got its identity as an administrative unit. This was done as a temporary appeasement for managing the region. The Kukis were defending the NC Hills against outside invaders, and the British meanwhile were appropriating authority over their land to others in a deliberate effort to contain the Kukis.

6 KARBI- ANGLONG. The Kukis came to know that they had no enemy and thus extend their settlements north ward into the present day Karbi Anglong region of Assam. During those days these areas were fraught with danger emanating from outside invaders and wild beasts. Only after Kuki people had ventured to settle the lands did the Karbi people follow, filtering in by batches. Today, they are more in number and without considering the history of their settlement they forcibly declare the whole area as Karbi Anglong. This is the home of the Kukis and there are 105 (One hundred and five) Kuki villages in present-day Karbi Anglong of Assam.

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CHAPTER X

The Zale'n-gam and Kangleipak Equation

The hills and mountains surround the valley called Kangleipak or Manipur From pre-historic days, the valley has been a melting pot for all of the races and tribes of people who migrated over a period of time, and from various directions It is on record that king Naothingkhong, who reigned circa AD 760, wanted to unite the nine petty kings and their respective clans In pursuit of this plan, king Naotinkhong married the daughters of four different kings of the hill tribes, namely Silol Langmai Khumen, Moirang and Mangang. The matrimonial bonds formed by king Naotinkhong served the process of assimilation and established a reign of peace. It also led to the eventual formation of a Meitei nation in the valley of Kangleipak or Manipur

In an earlier period, c AD 33, during the reign of King Nongda Lairen Pakhangba, a man named Poireton came to the land of Kangleipak, with ambitions of assuming kingly status He

managed to organise a sizeable force, consisting mainly of a confederacy of the chieftains from the Kuki hills of Zale'n-gam surrounding Kangleipak, and declared war on King Pakhangba. Although Poireton did not defeat Pakhangba, he brokered an honourable treaty: his sister was married to Pakhangba. Following the matrimonial alliance, Poireton and his people were assimilated into the kingdom of the valley of Kangleipak, and, Poireton was made prime minister.

It is difficult to come by concrete evidence regarding the assimilation of the Kuki people into the fabric of the valley culture of Kangleipak. This is perhaps because at the time the people may have not been identified as Kukis. Prior to the introduction of the term 'Kuki' the people were known either by the names of their villages, chiefs or clans. In the period preceding Pakhangba, the Kukis appear to have been known as Chingburoi, meaning owner of hills. In AD 33, following Poireton's arrival in the valley of Kangleipak, the Kukis came to be known as Hao. Later on, the term Khongjai developed as yet another nomenclature to identify the Kuki people. Historians such as Majumdar and Bhattasali refer to the Kukis as the earliest people known to have lived in prehistory India, preceding 'the "Dravidians" who now live in South India'. The Aryans, who drove the Dravidians towards the south, arrived in the Indian sub-continent around BC 1500. According to the Pooyas, the traditional literature of the Meitei people, 'two Kuki Chiefs named Kuki Ahongba and Kuki Achouba were allies to Nongba Lairen Pakhangba, the first historically recorded king of the Meithis [Meiteis], in the latter's mobilisation for the throne in 33 AD'. Cheitharol Kumaba (Royal Chronicles of the Meitei Kings) records that in the year 186 Sakabda (AD 264) Meidungu Taothingmang, a Kuki, became king. Another theory suggests that the term Kuki is of recent origin, introduced by the Bengali people of Sylhet around the sixteenth-century, and reinforced by the British in the latter part of the nineteenth-century.

However, viewed from the perspective that the Kukis, like other communities on the planet earth, who were at one time in the process of migration, it is reasonable to consider that some of them would have found their way into the Kangleipak valley in different phases. The assimilation of the Kukis into the pre-Hindu fabric of the valley would have been very natural. This is because at the time the valley people and the people of the hills were not distinguished or segregated socially by the caste system of the Hindu religion.

The Kukis, who came into the valley, however, did not maintain a homogenous identity. This was because they came in very small groups and at different periods, which made the process of assimilation easy. Among the nine kings of Kangleipak, a few of them were Kukis. Perhaps, the process of assimilation was accelerated by this fact. By the time a centralised Meitei kingdom emerged in Kangleipak, the Kukis in the valley had completely lost their own identity, being subsumed by the larger identity of the valley Meitei people.

The advent of Hinduism into the valley of Kangleipak brought about deep transformations in the society. Besides creating distinctions based on social and economic factors, it also erased any trace of the original identities of the hill people. In other words, Hindusation systematically separated the people who had been assimilated as Meiteis, as separate from the people of the same stock not yet assimilated. The Hindu caste system and its various social prohibitions led to the end of the assimilation of people from the hills into the Meitei community.

The use of the term Manipur appears to be conterminous with the Hindusation of Kangleipak. Hinduism and the accompanying sanskritisation made the people arrogant, conceited and insular. It prevented the mixing between 'fellow-tribesmen' from the surrounding hills of Zale'n-gam.

There are several facts which highlight the Zale'n-gam-Kangleipak equation. The Meitei ritual of Sagei Khunthoklon

illustrates that two-thirds of all Meiteis were assimilated Kukis. If all the Bengali and Hindi vocabularies are removed from the Meitei language, the remainder is part of a Kuki dialect. The Linguistic Survey of India, Vol III, Pt III, which classifies Meitei as a Kuki dialect language, substantiate this. The stories of different Kuki tribes like Mithem and Chothe, for example, provide evidence that the Kukis are aborigines of Manipur.

In pre-history Moirang, Chothe Thangvai Pakhangba a Kuki king, known as Iyang Purile Lai Thingri Nachousa is recorded to have ruled for one hundred and twenty years (BC 90 to AD 30). During the 'Ava war' in 1810, the Meitei king Chourajit was not fully equipped to fight his enemy. He therefore sought the help of Kukis and declared, Chingna koina pansaba, Haona koina panngakpa, Manipur sana leimayol (The hills surround Manipur the Golden Land and like a barricade the hill people guard the valley (free translation from the vernacular)). In AD 1820, the Kukis of Zale'n-gam pitched in their might to help King Herachandra prevent the Ava incursions (Burma) into Kangleipak. The Kukis sent five hundred warriors, while there were only three hundred Meitei to fight the battle. Therefore, it is proper that victory in the war should be attributed to the contribution of the Kuki warriors. That would render appropriately a deserved recognition.

During the reign of King Chandrakirti (1851-1852), Kamhau, the Sukte Chin King declared war on the Meitei Kingdom. The defeated King Chandrakirti was taken prisoner to land of the Chin people. Upon receiving news of the Chandrakerti's capture, the Kukis of Zale'n-gam sent 1,200 warriors and fought against the Kamhaus. The Kukis successfully returned Chandrakirti to Kangleipak and restored him to the throne. Following the event, king Chandrakirti held a grand occasion at which the honourable people of Zale'n-gam and Kangleipak were invited. King Chandrakirti acknowledged the various occasions in the past on which the Kukis had helped the Meitei Kings.

For example, Pu Thanglet went and collected the head of the King of Ningthi in Burma and gave it to the king of Kangleipak. Secondly, during the war against the King of Assam, the Kuki chiefs of Zale'n-gam extended help to the king of Kangleipak. In the war against the people of Kohima, too, the Kuki chiefs of Zale'n-gam again helped the king of Kangleipak. The present-day Kohima War Cemetery is the location where the Kukis were entrenched. This trench was known as 'Kuki Picket' or 'Kuki Qitla' in the local pronunciation. During the Ava War of 1810, the Kuki people of Zale'n-gam in a neighborly gesture aided King Chourajit Singh of Manipur. In 1820, King Herachandra was again helped by five hundred Kuki braves. Therefore, in appreciation of all the help rendered by the Kukis, King Chandrakirti announced his recognition of Zale'n-gam as the Kuki nation (Source: as related to Kuki elders, such as Pu PK Haokip, Ex-MLA and Pu Jamchung Haokip, INA pensioner).

In the war of Kuki Rising 1917-1919, the Kukis fought a full-scale war against the British India Government to preserve the sovereignty of Zale'n-gam. The Kuki Inn (The Kuki House) at Imphal was constructed with funds sanctioned by the Government of India as a commemoration of the Kuki Rising, 1917-1919 and a monument to the brave Kukis and their struggle for freedom. However, significant as the Kuki Inn is symbolically, sadly in real terms that it is the only concrete recognition accorded to the Kuki people for their defence against colonialism. No other people in the Northeast region of present-day India fought the British as long a period as the Kukis. Less deserving people have been given statehood only because they wielded firearms and followed a militant stance against the Government of India. To the Kuki people, the Kuki Rising, 1917-1919 and the commemorative Kuki Inn is representative of the sovereignty of Zale'n-gam.

The Kukis acknowledge the sovereignty of Kangleipak, despite Kangleipak losing its sovereignty to the British in the Anglo-Kangleipak War of 1891. The Kukis do not recognise the authority

of the British India Government. Zale'n-gam and Kangleipak were parallel sovereignties that existed side by side and were complementary to each other. It is of significance that a Kuki-Meitei war did not occur in history. There was always mutual recognition and respect for the other's right to self determination.

As mentioned above, at the time of Manipur's annexation to India in 1949, the Kukis sent two hundred and fifty armed warriors to help the king of Manipur resist merger to the union of India. Pu Holkhomang Haokip wrote an article (27 October 1993, Haokip Veng, Imphal, Manipur) to recount the event. An excerpt:

I take this opportunity to write a few lines in connection with the Manipur Merger issue. It is an attempt to focus on the last minute events before Maharajah Budhachandra Singh had to leave for Shillong, to sign the Agreement against his will.

It is a fact that it was a group of Kuki Chiefs, particularly Haokip Chiefs, who determined to help the Maharajah to resist the Merger. Here, to be specific, a group of Kuki Chiefs was led by the Haokip Chief of Chassad, whom the Chief of Aihang, Chief of Nabil, Chief of Lonpi and many other Haokip villages supported. These Chiefs went to the extent that about 200-300 volunteers with muzzle-loading guns were kept at the gate of Palace to protect the Maharajah and his kingdom.

The leader of Akhil Manipur Hindu Maha Sabha organised strikes and procession to force the Maharajah to relinquish his throne and to merge with India. There was almost a clash between the volunteers of Haokip Chiefs on one side and A.M. Hindu Maha Sabha on the other. Meanwhile, 2 or 3 telegraphs reached/came to Maharajah from the then Home Minister of India, Shri Sardar Vallabhai Patel, but the Maharajah refused to go to Shillong.

Unfortunately, on that eventful day, against his will, supported by the fact that Maharajah turned back 2-3 times to God, then into his car, he made ready for his journey to go to Shillong to sign the said Agreement.

People of Manipur or any historian have not recorded such important events of those decisive moments, which took place at the palace gate. The Maharajah, out of his love for his supporters the Haokip Chiefs and volunteers who stood by him for his protection and independent Manipur during those eventful time moments till the last minute, have granted the Haokips to settle at Haokip Veng which itself is an axiom. (Source: Annexation of Manipur 1949, 1995, p 182, Published by the Peoples Democratic Movement, Manipur)

The above conduct of the Kuki Chiefs during that critical period is a clear manifestation of the Zale'n-gam and Kangleipak relationship: it was one of mutual recognition. The relation between the powerful Kuki kings of Aisan or Chassad with the king of Manipur exemplified this. The Kangleipak Kingdom ruled no part of Zale'n-gam, and the Kuki Kingdom ruled no part of Kangleipak. The Kukis had the foresight that the fate of Zale'n-gam would be linked with that of the Meitei King, in the post-British scenario. Therefore, they were anxious to dissuade the King from responding to the call of Sardar Patel. The preservation of a sovereign Kangleipak was integral to the preservation of Zale'n-gam, because the British had left the fate of Zale'n-gam in the hands of the Manipur raja. As in the events of 1840s, 1860s, 1917-1919, and 1942-1945, the Kukis of Zale'n-gam had been a perennial thorn on the side of the British. Therefore, it was only logical for the British to dismantle the Sovereignty of Zale'n-gam. They put the Kukis under various administrations, in the hope that there would not be another Kuki uprising. Thus, the British resolved to submit the fate of Central Zale'n-gam to the Manipur raja.

The British annexed Zale'n-gam following the Kuki rising of 1917-1919, which includes the entire present-day hills of Manipur. Although the British deprived the Kukis of their sovereignty, they continued to recognise their exclusive ownership of lands by issuing land deeds locally known as Pattas to each Kuki chief. Till date, the Kuki chiefs remain in possession of their Pattas.

There is ample evidence in history regarding the relationship between the Kukis and the people of Kangleipak. It must be noted, however, that help provided was one-sided: it was always the Kukis of Zale'n-gam extending help to the Meiteis of Kangleipak. History cannot be erased. The people of Kangleipak cannot feign ignorance of our common past, if they do, justice may not be in their favour. Both communities are worthy peoples. It is appropriate that they celebrate their past and continue to maintain an honourable relationship.



CHAPTER XI

The Anglo - Kuki Wars

1. The Anglo -Kuki War, 1845-1871

When the British Empire expanded in India in the early 19th century, they began their incursions into the borders of Western Zale'n-gam, namely in the Chittagong Hill tracks and Assam. The British wanted to expand their rule in the area that was under Kuki dominion. In the first instance, they began the Kukis right to tax collection in New Cachar Hills and the Karbi Anglong areas. Predictably, the Kukis resented the aggression upon their territorial suzerainty. The resolution and determination to drive back the alien presence was passed to all of the Kuki clan members. That was the genesis of the hostilities between the Kukis and British.

To deal with the challenge posed upon their supremacy, the Kukis of Zale'n-gam held meetings at various places in the hills in order

to organise a concerted campaign against the British. They fought the British as early as 1845-1871, to drive them out of Zale'n-gam. A series of raids were launched against the British out-posts.

The British have chronicled the account of the war as 'The Great Kuki Invasion of 1860s ' Col.EB Elly, Asst. Quarter Master General, (in 'Military Report on the Chin –Lushei country', p. 8), writes:

In 1845, 1847-1848, 1849-1850 and 1850-1851 there were raids, culminating in what is called the Great Invasion of 1860s, where 15 villages were burnt or plundered, 188 British subjects killed, and 100 carried into captivity In 1864 raids recommenced, and were continued in 1866-1867, 1868-1869, 1869-1870, and in 1870-1871

The spirited struggle of the Kukis against an imperialist government eventually proved a great strain In strength and resources, the Kukis in Tripura and Chittagong hill tracts unable to sustain the state of conflicts had been effectively kept at bay by the 1870s In the decades that follow, the Lusheis and Pois in the south, the Naga tribes in the north, as also the Meitei kingdom in the Manipur valley were all eventually subjugated by the colonial British After this war, the British suppressed the Kukis of North Cachar Hills, Karbi Anglong, Tripura and Chittagong Hill tracks

CHAPTER XII

The Kuki rising, 1917-1919

The British recorded 'The Kuki Rebellion 1917-1919' refers to the Kuki rising, 1917-1919 This is the perspective of the victors, who inevitably are the writers of history. To represent the view of the British, the following extracts are quoted. ' The Kuki rising of 1917-1919, which is the most formidable with which Assam has been faced for at least a generation. 'The suppression of the rebellion has cost Government Rs 28,00,000, and had absorbed men, money and material which should have been devoted to the great war'. The next defence against the British imperialist was in central and eastern Zale'n-gam Kuki encounters with the British had been horrifying in the past The Kukis were left with no option but to prepare for the defence of their sovereignty, against the insatiable colonial thirst for territorial expansion. Aware of the British expansionist policy, the Kuki people realised that Zale'n gam would not be spared. Battle with the British was

inevitable. Having already experienced the powerful might of the British imperial machinery during the 1860s, the Kukis knew that they needed help and must manufacture more effective war weapons

The great Kuki chiefs of Aisan, Pu Chengjapao Doungel and Pu Lhukhomang Haokip alias Pache chief of Chassad, as well as, Chief of the Haokip clan, took upon themselves the responsibility to defend Zale'n-gam They began to organise political meetings at regular intervals During one of these meetings, with a view to forming an alliance against the common enemy, feelers were sent to Bengali militants Positive response to the initiative was received. An instance of such activity is recorded by Maj. Gen D K. Palit (1984, p 62): 'Bengali Nationalist Organisation from Sylhet and Cachar sent emissaries to the Kuki chiefs of the Southern clans encouraging them to resist the high handed methods of the British' On subsequent meetings, secretly attended by militant nationalists from Bengal, the Kukis were greatly encouraged that British colonialism was deeply resented by many other kings and nations of the world. The Kukis were well informed about the Axis powers Germany, Japan, Austria, and many others who agreed to wage war against the British. The Bengalis encouraged the Kukis to join hands with the others in the war The Bengali leaders prepared the way for the Kukis and helped them to set-up an understanding with the Germans.

As the Bengalis and the Kukis began to establish a close tie, their papers, i.e. Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) were somehow leaked to the British Consequently, due to British intervention the Bengalis could not extend help to the Kukis. However, during the Second Kuki rising, 1942-1945 (i.e. during World War II), the Bengalis and the Kukis, under the banner of Indian National Warriors (INA) and along side the Japanese, fought against the British. The leader of the INA was Netaji Subash Chandra Bose Pu Onkholet Haokip, alias Japan Pakang, led the Kukis

The Kuki - German relation

The British entered what are now called Bangladesh, Tripura and Assam, and annexed parts of the territories in those regions ruled by the Kukis. In the given circumstance, the Kukis were desperate to find allies. With the help of the Bengalis the Kukis made contact with the Germans. The Germans appear to have indicated agreement to extend co-operation to the Kukis. However, this was to happen after the war in Europe was won The evidence of German-Kuki links is noted by Maj Gen D K. Palit (1984, pp 81-82), an excerpt follows:

An interesting fact about the motivations of the uprising came to light during the course of the operations Mention has been made earlier that the Kukis had been encouraged by emissaries from Bengali nationalist in Assam, but any thought that the Germans had also had a hand in it had not occurred to any one. However, at Tamu in May 1918 after the first phase of operations, Medical Officer on his round of inspection came upon some Sikhs of the Burma MP in a hut tearing up some papers they said they did not want The M.O. picked up some of the papers and found among them photos of two Germans, one in uniform. On the back of one of them was written in Hindustani: "If you fall into rebel hands show these and they will not harm you". The Sepoys could only state that when they were leaving Burma for the scene of the disturbances a "Sahib" had given them these papers No one ever found out who the "Sahibs" were - or if any of them had visited the Chindwin valley.

The Kukis hoped that the Axis powers would win the war in Europe They anticipated help from the Germans to boost their military strength to fight against the British forces in Zale'n-gam Unfortunately, the Axis power lost World War II and subsequently there was no German support to the Kukis It may be argued that had the British been defeated in WW II, the history of the Kukis with regard to a sovereign Zale'n-gam would have been different Under those circumstances it is not difficult to imagine a free

Zale'n-gam, recognised by the rest of the World. In the absence of known contemporary accounts of the Kuki-German relations, one is left with versions handed down by the oral tradition, with the exception of the documentation by Gen. D.K. Palit. Further research will perhaps reveal more in the future

3. The Preparations for War

In the preparations for the Kuki rising, 1917-1919 the people of Zale'n-gam's priority were to increase their armoury. Therefore, many more guns were manufactured and large amounts of gunpowder prepared. The British became aware of the activities and promptly collected many weapons from the Kukis. As many as 1,195 guns of the Kukis were confiscated by the British between 1907 and 1917 (Manipur Administrative Report, 1918-1919, p.2). However, the Kukis were able to continue their activity of gun and gunpowder making secretly. The British Brigadier-General C E K. Macquoid writes with regard to the preparations of the Kukis for war

The enemy to be dealt with were, in their own way and manner of fighting, by no means lacking in courage. In the art of lying concealed and laying ambushes they could not be excelled. They scarcely ever showed themselves, yet their presence could always be felt. The Kuki stockades were all well-planned and sited, having 'bolt-holes' for escape, and provided hitherto unusual, with flank defence. The fact that the troops engaged had been armed with a rifle of great penetration than that of the Martini-Henry must have been known to the tribes, as the thickness of the stockades had been increased and generally was found sufficient to stop the penetration of the M L E. rifle. Our opponents did not fear the 2.5 seven-pounder M.L. gun.

In the manufacture of ammunitions, the Kukis used admixture of indigenous ingredients. They also made their own form of cannon

(Pumpi), from the hide of the large animal, the mithun. Col. L.W. Shakespear (1929, p.215) gives a description of the Cannon

They also used a curious sort of leather cannon made from a buffalo's hide rolled into a compact tube and tightly bound with strips of leather. A vent is bored in the proper place, their own rough powder poured in, and a quantity of slugs or stones is then inserted. The weapon is usually fastened to a tree so as to command a turn in the track up which the enemy is approaching, and is either fired by hand at the head of the party as it appears in sight, or is arranged to be fired by a trip cord which our flankers may touch, and which drops a stone on to a percussion cap on the vent which fires the charge hoped to hit our men coming up the path

The Kukis were experienced in the art of cannon making. They could manufacture many in a single day. They also made Song Khai and Songpel Thang (a form of trap, using stones). Song khai and Songpel involved the collection of great numbers of huge stones, which were placed on wooden planks. These planks were fixed to a rope tied against a tree just above the paths the enemies were likely to pass through. Food reserves consisting of rice, maize, corn, bread, dried meat and dried fish were stored at specific locations in various parts of the deep jungle. Sajam Lhah was also performed in different places.

i) Sajam Lhah and Thingkho le Malchapom

Sajam Lhah is an important customary oath taking rite of the Kuki people. It is a unique Kuki tradition followed to symbolise commitment to a common cause. According to the tradition, a mithun is killed for the occasion, where the Kuki Chiefs, elders and leaders are present. Each of the Chiefs is given a portion of the meat. The apportioned meat is called Sachan. The Chiefs and their contingent return to their respective village with the Sachan where a token-piece is distributed to every household. This act signifies the allegiance of the entire community to the cause of the nation

Besides the broader functions of Sajam Lhah, there is an added feature, which is extraordinary: it is the eating of the liver and heart of the animal. The liver and the heart represent the 'heart' or 'core' of the matter, the eating of which behoves moral accountability. The Kuki Chiefs and leaders participated in this solemn and ritualistic event as a mark of their resolve to protect the sovereignty of Zale'n-gam against British imperialism. In the recent history of the Kukis, the first major Sajam Lhah was performed to cover the entire people of Zale'n-gam in the Kuki rising, 1917-1919. The First World War started in Europe in 1914. At the time, both India and Burma were under the occupation of the British. Two senior Kuki leaders of Zale'n-gam, namely, Pu Chengjapao Doungel, Chief of Aisan, and Pu Lhukhomang Haokip alias Pache Chief of Chassad (who was also Chief of the Haokips) decided to look for allies. They established contact with the Bengali people, who were in touch with the Germans.

Through the Bengalis the Kuki leaders sent emissaries to the Germans. An agreement was reached between the Kukis and the Germans: the Germans would supply arms and ammunition to aid the Kukis in their War of Independence. Photographs were exchanged during the secret meetings. Following the secret agreement with the Germans, Pu Chengjapao Doungel and Pu Pache met at Aisan, in the first week of March 1917. The two leaders decided to start formal preparation for the war, and a meeting was held. The following are the agreements of the meeting.

1. All of the Kuki people must take part in the war. To ensure that everyone participated, all of the Kuki Chiefs should perform Sajam Lhah in their respective area.
2. If any Chief was unwilling to participate in the war, he would be dispossessed of his title and his village would be burnt down.
3. Every village should start stocking arms, ammunition and gunpowder.
4. Every village should be fortified.
5. Every village should stock sufficient reserves of food grains.

As leaders of the Kuki people, Pu Chengjapao and Pu Pache were the first to perform Sajam Lhah. Pu Chengjapao performed the rite in Aisan. Pu Pache performed it in Chassad to include the Chiefs of Eastern Zale'n-gam. On the occasion, Pu Pache invited the eldest leader of the Kuki tribe, Pu Chengjapao Doungel to grace the ceremony.

The other areas in Zale'n-gam where the Sajam Lhah rite was performed are as follows:

1. Lanjang and Jampi, Central Zale'n-gam (present-day Tamenglong)
2. Henglep, Central Zale'n-gam (present-day Churachandpur)
3. Mombi (Lonpi), Central Zale'n-gam (present-day Chandel)
4. Joujang, Somra Area in Eastern Zale'n-gam (present-day Burma)
5. Phailengjang, Upper Chindwin in Eastern Zale'n-gam (present-day Burma)
6. Haflong of North Kachar Hills, and Karbi Anglong in Western Zale'n-gam (present-day Assam)
7. Mechangbung Area, Western Zale'n-gam (present day Athibung area of Nagaland)

The Kuki rising broke out on 7 March 1917. To inform the entire people of Zale'n-gam regarding the day to go to war against the British, the Kukis resorted to the original and traditional means of Thingkho le Malchapom (red-hot chillies tied on to smouldering firewood). Thingkho le malchapom signalled war against the British. It was relayed from one village to another, which covered the entire area of Zale'n-gam. The Chassad Conclave preceded the passing of Thingkho le Malchapom.

ii) The Chassad Conclave;

Pu Jamkhochung Haokip, aged 97, is an ex-Assam Rifles soldier he was also a member of the Indian National Army (INA) during World War II He now resides at Saikul bazaar, in the Sadar Hills Manipur At his age, he is physically fit and mentally alert On 14th May 1997, a meeting was held with him at Moreh. A very respectable man, he reminisced about his six months sojourn in jail in the last World War Pu Jamkhochung also vividly recounted the Chassad resolution of 7th March 1917, as was related to him by late Pu Laso Haokip, chief of Selmei, who was a participant in the resolution According to Pu Jamkhochung's version, before the Oktan Durbar (meeting), there was a great and significant gathering of all the Kuki Chiefs of Central and Eastern Zale'n-gam at Chassad (Kamjong), the principal village of Pu Lhukhomang Haokip, alias Pache, Chief of the Haokip clan Accounts of Pu Pache's exploits as recorded by Col. L.W. Shakespeare (1929, p.225) is as follows. '. .both columns then moved and attacked Kamjong, Pachei's, principal village, in which action several casualties occurred and Lieut. Molsworth (Burma M P) was killed' Under the leadership of the Aisan Chief and the Chassad Chief, a lengthy discussion took place regarding the preparations for the Kuki rising, 1917-1919.

Among the Kuki Chiefs who had attended the conclave are:

1. Pu Chengjapao Doungel, Chief of Aisan
2. Pu Lhukhomang Haokip, alias Pache, Chief of Haokip
3. Pu Letjahao Chongloi, Chief of Khomunnom
4. Pu Kondem Baite, Chief of Sadih
5. Pu Paokholen Kipgen, Chief of Bongbal Kholen
6. Pu Ngulbul Haokip, Chief of Longya

7. Pu Haokhopao Kipgen, Chief of Molvailup
8. Pu Tukih Lupheng, Chief of Tonglhang
9. Pu Kamjahen Haokip, Chief of Phailengjang
10. Pu Letkhothang Haokip, Chief of Khotuh
11. Pu Semkholun Haokip, Chief of Phaisat (Phungyar)
12. Pu Tongkholun Haokip, Mantri (Minister) of Phailengjang
13. Pu Sonkhopao Haokip, Chief of Twisomjang
14. Pu Jalhun Haokip, Chief of Molvom
15. Pu Thongkhomang Haokip, Chief of Phunchong
16. Pu Doujapao Mate, Chief of Thomjang
17. Pu Vumtong Haokip, Chief of Maokot
18. Pu Laso Haokip, Chief of Selmei
19. Pu Lenpu Hangsing, Chief of Vongjang
20. Pu Ngulkhojam Chongloi, Chief of Maval
21. Pu Amjapao Chongloi, Chief of Kholen
22. Pu Nguljalhun Chongloi, Chief of Thingphai
23. Pu Paokai Hangsing, Chief of Tingpibung

Apart from the chiefs mentioned above, a number of chiefs from Eastern Zale'n-gam, i.e. present Myanmar (Burma) also participated in the conclave The main items of discussions included:

i) the formations of a united Kuki stand against the British, ii) the manufacture of weapons guns and gunpowder, and iii) the stocking of food reserves

On the occasion, Pu Lhukhomang, the Chief of Chassad killed a Mithun (the traditional animal used by Kukis for such solemn

functions) for the people to feast on. H W G Cole, P.A., Manipur (vide his letter D O No 5 C, dated 17-03-1917, addressed to B C Allen, Special Officer, Assam Shillong), made note of the event.

Lhukhomang alias Pache, Chief of Chassad lived most of his life in independent territory. He killed a Mithun in March before he was called on to send coolies and sent the flesh to other Chiefs urging them to refuse to recruit men for the labour corps. Shortly afterwards Ngulkhup of Mombi and Khutinthang of Jampi sent beads to Pahee with a message inviting him to resist. Pahee sent a message to these two chiefs inviting them to come to his village and discussed matters. Subsequently, I learn on good authority that he sent a bullet to the Chiefs of Jampi, Ukha, Paosum, Henglep and Lotbol with instruction to resist forcibly any attempt to impress coolies or to burn villages. Paokholen, Chief of Bongbal Khulen, Pabot, Chief of Sita, are satellites of Pachei with considerable influence among the Vaiphei villages bordering on the valley.

The Chiefs who attended the Chassad Conclave participated in the eating of the heart and liver of the mithun, as a promise to fight in unity against the British. Thingkho le Malchapom was sent to the Kuki Chiefs to indicate the declaration of war against the British. A Mithun was killed and Sajam was distributed to each and every Kuki Chief in the entire length and breath of Zale'n-gam. Sajam, as mentioned earlier, was used for taking an oath of commitment to the cause of war, whereupon Kuki warriors of the respective villages took a symbolic bite. Pu Jamkhochung Kuki said that they also sent one bullet and an earring to their Chin brothers in the Chin Hills to signal the war against the British and to seek their support. The response to the call is recorded by in Maj. Gen. D.K. Palit (1984, p.67), as follows:

Twelve hours later came an urgent wire to Shillong from Falam, the headquarters station in the Chin hills, saying that the southern Chins had risen and that Haka station was surrounded; it asked for urgent assistance, a few days later another urgent wire from Falam called for even stronger reinforcements.

Following the distribution of Sajam and the dispatching of Thingkho le Malchapom, there was a mass preparation for war over all of Zale'n-gam. Every Kuki contributed in every possible way. They manufactured guns and ammunitions, built Pumpi (cannon), prepared the Songkhai Thang (stone traps) and other forms of traps while others engaged in stocking reserves of a variety of foods. At the Chassad Conclave, Pu Chengjapao Doungel, Chief of Aisan, by virtue of being the Piha or Pipa (head of the Kukis), was authorised to issue orders to all the Kukis. Accordingly, Pu Chengjapao issued the orders

"No Kuki should response to the call of the British to go to France, but rather they should make preparations to wage war against the British." The order was received and followed over all of Zale'n-gam. During the preparations for war, the younger brother of Pu Khupkhotintong (Tintong) Haokip, Chief of Lanjang was unfortunately killed in an accidental blast, possibly while making gunpowder. The good network of the Kuki chiefs and the effective traditional mode of communication by Thingkho le malchapom provided the means for the message to reach the destinations within three days. It enabled every Kuki Chief to fully prepare for war. Following the declaration of war, the important British outposts, rest houses, Post and Telegraphic offices, Police Stations, etc., were systematically raided.

Mr Higgins, the Political Agent was impressed at the speed with which the Kukis could mobilise for war. He rightly credited this to the indigenous method of Thingkho le Malchapom.

The spontaneous patriotic response of the Kuki people from all over Zale'n-gam to the call to war pleased the leaders, Pu Chengjapao and Pu Pache. To immortalise the occasion, they composed the following verses, sung in a traditional tune

Phai chungnung kol kimvel'e,

Kolmang tol kon,

Ikal lhang phai thin eisem gom em?

Lhepon bang kitho tin,

Nam chem khat in vabang pao tadite

(Free translation)

From beyond the valley of Imphal,

And from across the plains of Burma,

Aren't we served together?

United like folded layers of sheets,

Let us take up sword as one nation as the birds in

unison enounce

While the Kukis in Eastern Zale'n-gam were deeply engaged in preparing to defend the sovereignty of Zale'n-gam, the British Government persisted in requiring the services of the Kukis in Western Zale'n-gam. Therefore, the Kukis of North Cachar Hills and Karbi Anglong in Assam, Tripura and Chittagong Hill tracts in Bangladesh that were already in the hands of the British had no choice but go to France. The British were able to take as many Kukis from those areas, as they did with the Lushais and the Nagas.

In Central Zale'n-gam, by April 1917, at various places firm resistance had begun with raids on major British outposts. All over the hill areas surrounding Manipur valley, villages were informed to switch their loyalty from the British to the Kukis. Threats were issued against villages, should they be disloyal. One British Officer was severely assaulted in July 1917 and a Kuki captive was rescued from official custody, carried out under the leadership of Pu Ngulkhup, chief of Lonpi (Mombi) and Pu Ngulbul, chief of Longya. These incidents took place at the initial stages of the war.

The new British officiating Agent realised that none of the Kuki Chiefs had sent their people for the war effort in Europe, and was

enraged. He therefore planned a meeting of the Chiefs. At the meeting it was explained that those who obeyed and served the British in France would receive incentives in money and kind. There were no takers. The meeting was locally known as the Oktan and Phatang durbars.

iii) The Jampi Meeting

Late Pu Ngulkhohao Lhungdim, Ex. Member of Legislative Assembly wrote about The Jampi meeting in History of Manipur. The Jampi meeting is also recorded by Pu Jamthang Haokip in Manipur a Gospel leh Kuki ho Thusim (written in the vernacular), as well as by an elder Pu Vangkhosei Haokip, aged 92, at Chavangphai, Moreh on 27 May 1997. The following account of the Jampi meeting is based on the on their work. Soon after the death of the brother of Laijang Chief, all the Chiefs of North-central Zale'n-gam met at Jampi village. The Jampi summit was held in the second week of March 1917 hosted by Pu Khotinthang Sitlhou alias Kilkhong, Chief of Jampi. The Kuki Chiefs who attended the meeting are:

1. Pu Khotinthang Sitlhou alias Kilkhong, Chief of Jampi
2. Pu Khupkhotintong (Tintong) Haokip, Chief of Laijang
3. Pu Songchung Sitlhou, Chief of Sangnao
4. Pu Lunkholal Sitlhou, Chief of Chongjang
5. Pu Vumngul Kipgen, Chief of Tujang
6. Pu Lhunjangul Kipgen, son of Vumngul Kipgen
7. Pu Enjakhup Kholhou, Chief of Thenjang
8. Pu Leothang Haokip, Chief of Goboh
9. Pu Mangkho-on Haokip, Chief of Tingkai
10. Pu Heljason Haokip, Chief of Loibol

11. Pu Onpilen Haokip, Chief of Joupi

12. Pu Onpilal Haokip, Chief of Santing

13. Pu Jamkhoklup, Chief of Boljang and Pu Nguljahen Haokip of Boljang.

The Western Sector of the Jampi and Lanjang areas of western Zale'n-gam covered the whole of Tamenglong district and the western Sadar hills, of the present day Manipur State. In this sector Maj Marshall, Capt Montifiore, Lt Waler, Lt. Needham and Lt Sanderson commanded the British forces. This region was the territory of Pu Khupkhotintong (Tintong) Haokip, Commander in Chief and Deputy Commander-in-Chief Pu Enjakhup Khollou. The foremost Kuki leaders led in the war against the British in this area.

On the occasion of the Jampi meeting, Pu Khotinthang Sitlhou, Chief of Jampi killed a Mithun, the customary animal, the meat of which is served on such solemn occasions. Following the resolution at the meeting, as a declaration of war Thingkho le Malchapom was sent from Jampi to every nook and corner of Northwest Zale'n-gam. The Chiefs' Summit and the Sajam ceremony for the Jampi and Lanjang areas were organised in accordance with the call of the head Chief (Pipa), Pu Chengjapao Doungel. The Jampi meeting was also attended by a number of regional elders and village volunteers. The meeting was concerning the preparations for the coming Kuki rising 1917-1919, following the order issued by the king of the Kuki people Pu Chengjapao Doungel and Pu Lhukhomang Haokip alias Pache, Chief of the Haokips. In his address, Pu Khotinthang briefed the assembled Chiefs of the directions given by Pu Chengjapao Doungel and the agreement made with Pu Pache at the Chassad Summit. The proceedings involved passionate discussions and debates concerning the war. During the meeting Pu Songchung Sitlhou, Chief of Sangnao, stood in front of all great Kuki Chiefs and stated

The head of our Tribe who is the greatest of the Kuki Chiefs Pu Chengjapao Doungel has issued an order to prepare for an impending war against the British. However, I would like to express my doubt that we could successfully fight the British since we are subordinates and inferior to them in every way. If we annoy the Government by rebelling against it, we may face innumerable hardships in the future.

As the chiefs expressed their opinion one after another, Pu Vumngul Kipgen Chief of Tujang stood up and remarked 'Brothers, with the guns at our disposal we may not beat Sapkangte (British) in war.' At this remark, in anger Pu Khotinthang Sitlhou, Chief of Jampi shouted at Pu Vumngul, 'You are a coward!' It is better that you dissociate yourself from us.' Pu Songchung Sitlhou expressed a similar view, 'Brothers, may we not underestimate the British, for if we are to fight them, we may not win.' At such remarks, Pu Khupkhotintong (Tintong) Haokip Chief of Lanjang exclaimed, 'Tah Chapa' (An exclamation of resolve literally meaning, 'worthy son I am!' or 'worthy son of Zale'n-gam'. 'Am I not Lanjang Tintong Haokip?' and fired his gun (musket) into the air. He then swore in the name of his forefathers, and bursting in a song of valour (kiminlah) declared, 'Victory or defeat, we shall show the might of our race to the British.' Pu Tintong added, 'Winning or losing is another matter, regardless we must protect our sovereignty. I will not be afraid to fight to the last of my bullet. I shall fight the British to the end!' After such a demonstration of bravery and commitment, Pu Tintong gained the respect of his fellow Chiefs and was unanimously appointed the Commander-in-Chief. Pu Enjakhup Khollhou of Thenjang was appointed to be Deputy Commander-in-Chief. Pu Tintong and Pu Enjakhup ensured proper military training was given to all the young Kuki warriors. Pu Tintong was reputed to be a born warrior and had extensive knowledge regarding strategies of warfare. Pu Enjakhup had once enrolled in the Assam Rifles. He was a great soldier and especially skilled in guerrilla wartare. His experience served well in providing training to the Kuki

warriors. Pu Tintong and Pu Enjakhup invited Pu Lenkhokam Chonglor, from Halflong, Assam, who was an expert in gun smithy. With Lenkhokam Chonglor's skills, in no time the Kukis were able to make a large number of guns.

Bulwarks were built around the Kuki villages and fortified with pumpis (cannons). Thus, within a short span of time, the Kukis in western Zale'n-gam stood prepared to fight the British force for their motherland

iv) The Oktan and Phatang durbars

J C. Higgins, hoping to persuade the Kuki chiefs in the Southern region, went to Kangchup in October 1917, writes Col. L W Shakespeare's (1929, p.210). "...directed to explain to the Chiefs the reasons why their men were wanted, the nature of the work required of them, pay to be received there etc., to which end he arranged for a Durbar and invited the Kuki Chiefs to attend." According to Dr T S Gangte's, lecture on The Kuki Rising, 1917-1919 Symposium Day, 12 May 1997 at Moreh, the Kuki chiefs had a meeting in Oktan rather than at Kangchup, which was earlier proposed by the Political Agent. The focus of their discussion was recruitment for the Labour Corps in France. Mr. Higgins had informed the Kuki chiefs that he would not bring along any guards with him, except, for his self-defence, he would carry a handgun. Accordingly, he rode a horse and went alone towards Oktan. He also took along a good amount of Jukha (local alcoholic beverage) as a gift for the chiefs. During the meeting, some patriotic Kuki youth wanted to kill Higgins. But, Pu Khupkhotintong (Tintong) Haokip, chief of Laijang, restrained them. On this occasion, Pu Tintong cited the adverse consequences that followed when in 1891 the Manipuri King killed the British Chief Commissioner in cold blood, after inviting him to his palace for a meeting. More significantly, the chief of Laijang said, "We Kukis are not chicken hearted, not even a single hair of our guest should fall today." The chief warned the youths that should anyone touch the guest, the person will face instant death

During the meeting, Mr. Higgins tried to persuade the Kuki Chiefs to send some people for the Labour Corps going to France. Mr Higgins told the Kukis that if they agreed to the proposal he would give a gun to every Kuki chief, plus much more. However, the Kukis having received a message from their leader Pu Chenglapao Dougnel, Chief of Aisan that Kuki Sovereignty must be maintained at any cost, refused to accept Mr. Higgins drink and turned down his proposal. They informed Mr. Higgins that the Kukis are warriors, not menial labourers and therefore would not join the Labour Corps. In those days, the Kabui Nagas were under the Kukis and so Mr. Higgins suggested that at least the Kabui Nagas be permitted to join the Labour Corps. This request was also turned down. To end the durbar honourably and in an amicable manner, the Kuki chiefs offered traditional gifts to Mr Higgins, comprising of Dahpi (gong) and Dangka (silver). Mr Higgins did not accept the gifts. The Oktan Durbar ended dismally, without concrete results for either party. The Tangkhul Nagas who were under the rule and protection of the great Kuki chiefs of Aisan and Chassad, heard that the Kukis were waging war against the British. Therefore, on 10 October 1917, they made a pledge to assist their Kukis rulers. The Tangkhuls killed a buffalo to seal their pledge. But, in order to reverse the 10th October decision of the Tangkhuls, Mr. Higgins and Rev. Pettigrew called a meeting with the Tangkhul leaders at Phatang. Thereafter, the Tangkhuls reneged on their commitment to the Kukis, they submitted to the British, who rewarded them with provisions of salt, oil, sugar, etc.

Mr Higgins wanted to take revenge against the firm-minded Kukis by using the Assam Rifles. However, this did not materialise because most of the forces deployed in British-India and British-Burma had gone to France, to fight the Germans. The Assam Rifles was then newly formed and so it was difficult to deploy them to fight in Manipur (Central Zale'n-gam).

Therefore, a regular warriors the 2nd Gorkha Regiment, comprising of three British Officers and two hundred armed

personnel replaced the Assam Rifles in Kohima and Imphal. They were sent to fight the Kukis in Zale'n-gam. The imperial forces were under the command of Brig. Gen. Macquiel. In total, 5,400 British Forces comprised of 2,400 from India and 3,000 from the Burma Military Riflemen fought against the Kuki warriors in Zale'n-gam. Initially, the British did not believe that the Kukis would have enough weapons because they had confiscated a large number of their guns before 1917. The underestimation of the strength of the Kukis resulted in the British forces being able to contain the Kukis on all fronts, in the initial stages of the war.

However, as the war carried on, the superior organisation and equipment of an imperial power began to gain the upper hand. Towards the end of two long years the Kuki resistance gradually broke down. In April 1919, Pu Pache Chief of Chassad, after being pursued all over the hills but never apprehended, suddenly came to Imphal and gave himself up. This was followed by the capture of Pu Tintong Chief of Laijang and Pu Enzakhup Chief of Jampi area. On 20 May 1919, the long and bitterly fought Kuki rising came to a close.

v) The Episode of Lonpi (Mombi) and Longya: Mrs Cole's initiative to appeal to the Kuki chiefs.

To convince the Kuki chiefs to allow their men to go to France, the British Political Agent called a durbar. Two of the great chiefs from Southern Zale'n-gam, Pu Ngulkhup Haokip, chief of Momb. (Lonpi) and Pu Ngulbul Haokip, chief of Longya, refused to attend the meeting. They sent a message to the Political Agent that if force were used upon the Kukis to make them serve the British in France, they would be compelled to retaliate in kind. Thus, Pu Ngulkhup and Pu Ngulbul resolved to defend the rights of the Kuki people.

After receiving Pu Ngulkhup and Pu Ngulbul's message, in September 1917 the British sent the new officiating Political Agent Mr. Higgins, I.C.S., and the 4th Assam Rifles personnel (one hundred strong) under the command of Capt. Coote to Lonpi

which was six days walk from Imphal. They were greeted with open hostility. A skirmish followed between the Kukis of Lonpi and Capt. Coote's sepoys. Lonpi village was ultimately razed to the ground. Enraged by the outcome of the war, Pu Ngulkhup declared, 'Henceforth, the Kuki country is closed to the British.' Next, the British contingent while enroute to Longya was ordered to return to base and to take no further action upon the Kukis. Both Maj. Gen. D.K. Palit (1984, p.62) and Col. L.W. Shakespeare (1929, p.210) refer to the incident. Col. H.W.G. Cole was in charge before Higgins the new Political Agent arrived. Cole went to France, to lead the first contingent of the labour corps. He and his wife had good relations with many Kuki Chiefs. As the situation between the British and the Kukis Chiefs grew tenser, Mrs. Cole made an attempt to intervene in order to bring about an understanding. Mrs. Cole's acquaintance with the Kuki people gave her confidence to persuade them to accept the terms of the British. She sent a messenger to the Pu Ngulkhup, asking him to meet her at Sugunu, the foothills of Monbi. Sugunu was four days walk from Imphal. Pu Ngulkhup out of courtesy to a lady accepted the proposal and met Mrs. Cole, who was with an interpreter, at Sugunu. Pu Ngulkhup was accompanied by three of his associates. At the meeting, despite their good relations, Pu Ngulkhup politely but firmly conveyed to Mrs. Cole that he and his colleagues do not accept the proposal of the British. The disappointed Mrs. Cole returned safely to Imphal.

vi) The Longya Meeting

In the preparations for a united stand against the British, the Kuki Chiefs of Southeast Zale'n-gam met at Longya Village, under the leadership of Pu Ngulkhup Haokip, Chief of Mombi (Lonpi). The various Chiefs and prominent leaders of the Kuki clans present at the meeting are as follows:

1. Pu Ngulkhup Haokip, Chief of Mombi (Lonpi)
2. Pu Ngulbul Haokip, Chief of Longya

3. Pu Doungul Taithul, Chief of Gotengkot

4. Pu Henjalal Zou, Chief of Sinam

5. Pu Kenlun Anal, Chief of Tholcham

6 Pu Thangchung Baite

7. The Chief of the Zous

8 The Chief of the Marings

9. The Chief of the Anals

10. The Chief of the Lamkangs

11. The Chief of the Chothes

12. The Chief of the Aimols

13. The Chief of the Muzons

14. The Chief of the Monsangs

15. The Chief of the Taraos

At the meeting the members present agreed to uphold the Chassad resolution to fight the British To commemorate the event a mithun was slaughtered to feast on At the same time, a similar meeting was held at Khongjang village, in the south of Henglep area, where Pu Ngulhien Singson, Chief of Khongjang killed a mithun for the occasion and performed Sajam Lhah with the Kuki Chiefs in the region. It was also resolved that espionage or disloyalty to the cause would not be tolerated betrayers would, if necessary, be beheaded! Moreover if any Kuki village chief is found not to co-operate, his chieftainship would be taken away and the village destroyed Pu Ngulkhup, chief of Lonpi and Pu Thangchung Baite, Chief of Chalson Tengnoupal were both present at the Longya meeting Pu Ngulkhup killed a mithun for the occasion of the meeting. He had tied the mithun in the middle of his courtyard

and the Chiefs who were present were impressed at the grand preparations arranged by Pu Ngulkhup At the meeting the Chiefs decided there was going to be an attempt to predict whether the war against the British would be won For this purpose Pu Thangchung, who was renowned for his sharp-shooting ability was to shoot the mithun in the courtyard, aiming for the forehead To facilitate hitting the target, i e the 'bull's-eye', the Chiefs suggested the rope around the mithun's head be parted at the centre of the forehead, which Pu Thangchung indicated, that would not be necessary. Pu Thangchung rather casually took aim with his gun and fired: he hit the target, the bullet entering right between the ropes. All the Chiefs present were pleased at this demonstration They took it as a good omen for victory in the war

vii) The Sita Episode

In the First Kuki war of independence, there was an overwhelming response from the Kuki people, in all parts of Zale'n-gam Every able-bodied person performed to the best of their ability However, according to my grand uncle, late Jamjathang Haokip and Rev Dr T. Lunkim *, the Sita episode was an anathema to the Kuki people. The event as related by them is as follows:

Pu Pabor Haokip, Chief of Sita village, abstained from the battle while the rest of his brethren were actively involved The news spread widely. When it came to the knowledge of Chief of the Haokips, Pu Lhukhomang Haokip alias (Pache), and to the Kuki king, Pu Chengjapao Doungel, they proceeded to Sita to assess the situation Pu Pabor did not seek to justify himself Bowing down with folded hands at the feet of the two elder Chiefs Pu Pabor sought forgiveness for his conduct Pu Lhukhomang wanted to punish the Sita chief and took out his sword to chop him, but Pu Chengjapao intercepted. Judgement was passed on the Sita chief, which entailed the killing of the mithuns belonging to his

village. The number of mithuns killed equalled the number of houses in the whole village To humiliate the chief of Sita, the tails of the dead mithuns were cut off and hung in front of his house The tails of the mithuns were counted and the people were ordered not to eat the meat This was because the mithuns were killed as an act of punishment, imposed upon Sita, a Haokip village, for breaking rank According to the established rules, if any Chief did not take part in the war, his Chieftainship was to be taken away and the village burnt. However, as a gesture of mercy because the concerned chief asked forgiveness, the mithuns were 'sacrificed' instead Following the judgement, Pu Pabol joined hands with Pu Chengjapao and Pu Pache in the continuing war.

ii) On 22 January 1918, the British under the leadership of Capt Hebbert and the officiating Political Agent set out from Imphal to recapture the Burma Road The road had been under the control of the Kuki Warriors A pitched battle ensued in which a number of British forces were killed The Sita village is located very close to the Burma Road. Had the Sita chief not kept away from the war along with his satellite villages, the road would have remained under the control of the Kukis. The British ultimately got the upper hand By the middle of February 1918, the Burma Road came under British control.

CHAPTER XIII

The Battlefronts of the War of 1917-1919

1. The Southeastern Sector (Lonpi Area)

This southern sector is in the area of Lonpi (present day Chandel District), stretching to the Chin Hills The two Kuki leaders Pu Ngulkhup Haokip, Chief of Lonpi and Pu Ngulbul Haokip started the Kuki rising, 1917-1919; the Chief of Longya led the Kukis Pu Tottung-Semkhothong Haokip, Pu Thongkhopao Haokip, Chief of Aibol, Pu Doungul Tarthul, Zou, Chief of Gotengkot, Pu Mansom Batte, Chief of Maipi and Pu Henzalel Zou, the Anals, Marings, Monsangs, Chothes, Lamkangs, Muzons took active part in the war The Commanders of the British forces in this region were Capt Coote, Ashwith and Lt. Halliday These Commanders led one hundred and twenty sepoys each. The British received reinforcement under Capt Steadman from Lenakot and

they reached Haika Capt. Steadman was seriously injured during the war

According to Palit (1984, p.62) in September 1917, the battle of Mombi took place. Capt. Coote of 4th Assam rifles with one hundred men burnt Mombi However, according to (OIOC), the battle of Mombi (Lonpi) broke out on 17th October 1917 During the battle, Mombi was set ablaze Between the dates given by Palit and (OIOC), the former is more consistent with the version of the Kuki people

On 19 December 1917, Ithai, the Government Forest Station was attacked Sometime later, the Itall Police station near Sugnu and the Moirang Police station were also attacked. Capt Halliday and Capt. Coote were despatched to Lonpi and Henglep sectors with eighty sepoys each under their command When Capt Halliday and his eighty men were crossing the river Chakpi near Suganoo (Sugunu), the Kuki warriors with Pu Ngulkhup were waiting on the other side of the river They well prepared to avenge the destruction of Lonpi When the enemy Sepoys were at close range, they fired the pumpi The Sepoys retaliated and there was heavy fighting According to the people of Lonpi village, they killed twenty sepoys and injured around twenty seriously.

Contrarily, according to Col L W Shakespeare, the casualty list included only three British sepoys killed and a few injured. Capt. Halliday was seriously injured and returned with his Sepoys to Impnal. On that day Pu Ngulkhup composed an ode to the victory:

Haochan pallhang kanang e minthan jang len,

Bom twi chungmang naobang ka

Amang naovung kakasah haocha minthan jang lei Phung gol lunglhai nam?

Phunggol umi lunglhai nam minthan janglei bom.

Twi chung hon thing jan kase

Free translation

I the son of a Chief defended the fort with great courage and honour.

I made the enemy cry like children floating in the river

I made the glorious White chief cry like a child, are all the clans pleased?

Are all the Clans pleased with such fame and honour?

I piled up the enemy like firewood in the river.

The victory at Lonpi enabled the Kuki warriors to retain control over the present day Chandel District of Zale'n-gam They destroyed the Government Rest Houses and attacked the Police stations, one after another As the command of the Kuki warriors increased steadily, they took control of the Burma Road, which connects Imphal with Pallel and Tamu The road passes through Western Zale'n-gam until Kalemyo Highway and Kalewa (in present day Burma). The Kuki control of the National Highway, which was of strategic importance, presented a major crisis to the British

Due to the dire conditions the British were now in, Col. Shakespeare took over the post of Dy Inspector General, and was based in Imphal. Col Shakespeare requested his counterpart in Burma to immediately dispatch reinforcement to assist him. At that time, the Kukis had the upper hand in the Kabow Valley and Chindwin Valley. These particular places are referred to by Maj Gen. D.K. Palit' (1984, p.65):

In December the Mombi and Longya Chiefs, seeking revenge for the wanton burning of Mombi, began a series of small raids into the southern end of Manipur Valley The Chiefs of villages to the Southwest of Imphal soon joined them After a serious raid on a police station near Pallel, the Political Agent decided that punitive

measure would again have to be taken. Accordingly, two detachments from the 4th Battalion at Imphal, each 80 strong, were sent out one to Mombi and the other south -west to Henglep. Neither detachment succeeded in inflicting much punishment on the Kukis; on the contrary, both columns returned after suffering initial reverses The detachment under Captain Halliday suffered some casualties at the Chakpi River crossing near Mombi-and had to withdraw, leaving behind the bodies of their dead. The unseemly retreat served to put the Kukis' tails right up Soon the whole of the southern and southwestern hills had risen in arms and had begun to mount raids, destroying government rest houses and damaging the telegraph line In the process they closed the Burma Road (which ran from Imphal, through Palel and Tamu, down to the Kabaw and Chindwin valley) It was time for more effective measures to be taken.

Col Shakespeare, the newly appointed D.I.G., went to Imphal and began a systematic drive to organise the available resources of men and materials for the operations against the Kukis. His counterpart in Burma promised immediate reinforcements. By then the Kuki disaffection had begun to be felt in the Kabaw and Chindwin valleys as well The most important military setback faced by the Kukis was the means of communication and transport. Col Shakespeare arranged for a Naga labour corps about (eight hundred) strong, to employ in the Western Zale'n-gam (present day Manipur) operations The labour corps from Kohima was escorted by a rifle platoon down to Imphal Capt Montifore and one hundred and fifty men had already been sent from Kohima to the Chin Hills, via Aizawl (capital of present day Mizoram). From Silchar, in Assam the 2nd Assam Rifles dispatched a column of reinforcement consisting of one hundred men under Capt. Cloete. The Manipur Battalion, like the Assam Rifles, was overload with both older men and young half-trained recruits (due to the pressures of the war in France). An intensive three-week jungle warfare course was started for all Assam Rifles personnel. A training cadre for porters, to teach them to carry the seven-pounder

mountain guns and for other specialised tasks such as casualty evacuation was also hurriedly organised

In January 1918, the columns were set out in the fields, one such British force set up base camp at the foot hills of Pallel and another at Suganu, where supplies and medical stores were stocked for operations It was decided that the priority tasks would be first, to join hands with a Burma column which had been dispatched from Tiddim, in the north Chin Hills, and second, to open the Burma Road which was in the Kukis' command Capt Hebbert was given the task to dispel the Kukis and open the road to Burma He was also assigned to punish the Kuki villages in the neighbourhood of Tammu Capt. Hebbert's column was arranged to accompany the officiating Political Agent. The strategy of the British under Capt Coote was to first run over Lonpi and Longya, and to go forward to join the Burma column under Capt Steadman. This column accompanied the Deputy Inspector General and the Assistant Political Officer. The Upper Chindwin and Chin Hills (in present day Burma) were under the territories of Eastern Zale'n-gam As the war spread, it became an increasingly difficult for the British forces to fight the Kukis. Maj Gen D K Palit (1984) explains this situation:

In early December 1917 the DIG Assam Rifles received a wire from the Superintendent Chin hills inquiring if he had any knowledge of likely trouble on the Chin Lushai border The DIG replied that he had no such knowledge. Twelve hours later came an urgent wire to Shillong from Falam, the headquarters station in the Chin Hills, saying that the southern Chins had risen and that Haka station was surrounded; it asked for urgent assistance. The DIG then ordered Captain Falkland, Commandant 1st Assam Rifles Aizawl, to immediately proceed towards Haka along with one hundred fifty sepoys Within a few hours, they set out for Haka, a sixteen daylong journey by foot A few days later, another urgent wire from Falam called for even stronger reinforcements As active trouble had not as yet started in Manipur, Captain

Montifore with one hundred fifty rifles of the 3rd Assam Rifles at Kohima was order to the Chin hills, travelling as rapidly as possible - by rail to Chittagong, by steamer to Rangamati, country boats to Demagiri, whence onwards there was still a fortnight's hard marching to Haka. As neither Falkland nor Montifore could reach the disturbed area till well after Christmas, details of their movements and actions in the Chin Hills did not reach Shillong for several weeks.

Further Encounters at Lonpi (Monbi)

On 23 January 1918, two groups of British forces, consisting of one hundred twenty each, arrived from Imphal Headquarter to fight against the Kukis. Each of the two contingents was under the command of Capt. Coote and L.C.S. Higgins. During the four days trek from Imphal to Sugunu, the British encountered incessant Kuki guerrilla attacks. They suffered heavy casualty. Maj. Gen. D.K. Palit (1984, pp.68-69) writes:

Accordingly, Captain Coote's column left Imphal on 23rd January. Higgins, the A.P.A. and Colonel Shakespeare, the D.I.G., accompanied this force. A three day forced march brought them to Shuganu, the forward supply base at the foot of the tribal hills. The column then entered the hills and made for the Chokpi (Chakpi) river crossing, just short of the village of Mombi (Lonpi). The crossing was found to be undefended, but a gruesome sight met the men of the armies. They found the badly mutilated bodies of the men Halliday had lost a few weeks earlier, flung into a small ravine. Aware that the direct route to Mombi (Lonpi) was strongly stockaded, Coote decided on an outflanking march over a high ridge to the east. The column began its climb in single file, the only way to advance up a steep spur covered with small trees and scrub jungle.

After going for about an hour several shots rang out in front, to which the advance guard replied. Not a single Kuki was seen, but

they had wounded three riflemen and vanished. Crossing the top of the ridge the same thing occurred but this time without effect. As it was already dusk, the column camped in a small but friendly hamlet. It was subjected to sniping during the night, in which one man was mortally wounded, dying the next morning. The next march was along a ridge covered with the long grass of disused cultivation, at the far end of which the village of Nampho Khuno (Ngampao Khonou) came in sight, field glasses showing the presence of many armed Kukis in it. At this point, firing was suddenly opened on the column from both flanks accounting for three more wounded-one rifleman and 2 (two) carriers. Again, no enemy could be seen in the long grass. The area was thoroughly searched, while the mountain guns open on the village 900 yards. The first round plumped into the place dispersing all in it, it was then destroyed. While this was going on Coote noticed a great column of smoke far to the southwest. This could be Longya village being burned though it was doubted if Steadman's column from the north Chin Hills could have reached it so soon. A steep descent followed by a most fatiguing climb brought Coote on to Mombi (Lonpi) hill the following afternoon. A few ineffective shots were fired from the forest en route, but the stockade defence was found empty, as also the site of the village burnt the previous September. Here the column bivouacked for the night.

Lonpi village is situated at about 1,300 meters above sea level. From Lonpi, one can get a good view of the Southern region, as well as of the hills surrounding Lonpi. Using mirror signals, the British forces searched around the hills hoping to find Capt. Steadman and his men. Unable to find them the Sepoys headed towards Khaiting village. The British were low on ammunitions, as well as food supplies and porters. To replenish their resources before meeting the Kukis for battle at Lonpi, some of the men went to Suganu, where the storehouse was located. Capt. Coote took twenty sepoys with him and headed towards Tujang. On the way, the Kuki Warriors attacked them. In this instance, four of the British Sepoys and one Kuki were killed. The British thought

that many Kukis might have been killed, judging by the amount of bloodshed

Since, the Kuki Warriors who died was properly dressed and carried good guns, the British thought one of the war leaders of the Kukis was in the area Therefore, the dead bodies were carried up to Lonpi village. At Lonpi Higgins and a Meitei officer confirmed that the body was indeed of a great Kuki leader A fierce battle was fought at Lonpi The British were ultimately victorious Lonpi was the Kuki Warriors base, and the village members had deserted the village before the battle. The following day a gunshot was heard in the far-away hills. The British thought, Capt Steadman and his men might be fighting the Kuki Warriors But due to strong winds, it was not possible to determine the exact direction of the gunshot The next day they sighted the new Lonpi village, situated below the eastern hill slope, about six Kilometres from the old Lonpi When they reached the new Lonpi village, cannons and gunfire welcomed the British forces. Four Sepoys personnel died in front of the fort However, the British forces continued to fight Pu Ngulkhup and the Kuki Warriors were seething for revenge for the previous burning down of Lonpi They fought believing that the bullets of the British could not kill them However the Kuki Warriors had to also think about the safety of their women and children The British forces razed the new Lonpi village The British camped the night where the village was Late at night, the Kuki Warriors caught them unaware and opened fire but none were killed The Kuki Warriors at Letkholun and Khatlet village ambushed the British forces under the command of Capt Coote, who had gone to Suganu to fetch supplies Heavy fighting took place, but the British forces with their reinforcements, were a force for the (by now beleaguered) Kuki Warriors to reckon with Capt Steadman set Longya village on fire after attacking the village He was with one hundred and twenty strong warriors that came with him from the Chin Hills.

2. The Eastern Sector (Chassad)

In March 1918, there was to be a discussion on the joint operation of British-India and British-Burma, at Tamu. Col. F. French Muler, Burma Deputy Inspector General (DIG) and Col. Shakespeare, followed by one hundred and fifty riflemen went to attend the meeting. At the meeting, both the Colonels planned to group the four existing British forces into two Both were to advance from Burma and India to invade the whole of Chassad Area. The groups led by Capt Patrick from Kangal Thana and Maj Hacket from Homalin supported the two leaders on either side From Imphal, Capt Coote led another force and advanced towards the northern region of Chassad and kept fighting till the Somra area Capt Coote had moved in advance to pursue the Chassad Kuki Warriors As reserve, the D I G sent orders to Aizawl to dispatch one hundred sepoys of 1st Assam Rifles to Bongmol, situated on the border of Chin Hills and Manipur. This Column was to be deployed at Henglep area, South of Imphal After these arrangements were completed, Col Shakespeare and his column returned to the Headquarters at Imphal On their way at Chahm'ol near Tengnoupal, the Kuki Warriors attacked them The Kuki Warriors used their pumpi, but unfortunately it misfired Later, Col Shakespeare and his Warriors discovered the leather made cannon and brought it to Imphal Headquarters Had the cannon fired, our grandfathers say not a single one of from the British column would have survived The British forces headed towards the Imphal headquarters again Being attacked at unsuspected places, they kept alert all the way and finally reached Imphal with great fear and trembling.

After his return from the tour of the headquarters, Col Shakespeare and the Burma D I G made plans of invading the whole of Chassad Area, in the Eastern Sector The British force with Col Shakespeare consisted of one hundred fifty personnel of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Assam Rifles. Over and above this, the officers and personnel of Lt. Parry and Mr Higgins joined Col.

Shakespeare Together, they headed towards Chassad region in the Chindwin Valley passing through the villages in Ayapural area. From Kohima, a two hundred strong British force from the 3rd Assam Rifles, under the command of Lieutenants Prior and Sanderson followed the Tizu river-Nantalit (Somaleng dung), passed through Melomy (Meluri) and entered the Saramathi ranges. The dispatched forces were to go ahead and set traps for the Kukis from the Chassad Hills. They were to take shelter in the forest of Saramathi hill areas. The forces under the command of Captains Coote and Patrick joined at the river Mangha, to the north of Kangal Police Station. These two forces were to attack Kamjong, the largest village under the rule of Chief of Chassad. Kamjong was one amongst the greatest villages under the reign of the Kukis, surrounded by a well-guarded fort. The Chassad Chief ruled his kingdom from Kamjong. All the surrounding Tangkhal villages paid their tributes to him in the form of yearly Tax and various tributes. The Palace of Chassad was about sixty yards long and the Royal Kitchen had (seven) furnaces that never ceased to function. It is also said that the Chassad fort was large and well built. There was a round-the-clock vigil by the strong Kuki Warriors, who were under Pu Chungkhojang Haokip, Commander-in-Chief of the Chassad Warriors. The British were quite hesitant to attack such a well-built fort. The fort was situated on a highland, and was quite inaccessible. It was also hard to predict what lay within it. When the British did attack the fort, a number of them were killed while they were still a long way off. The firing of the pumpi shook the whole region. This incident remains a great legend, especially among the elder generation. The cannons and the stone-traps killed about fourteen British Sepoys. Maj Gen D K Palit (1984, p 75), writes of the event, 'Coot's and Patrick's column met up on the Mangha river north of Kangal Thana and the combined force moved up to attacked Kamjong, the main village of the rebel Chief Pache. A brisk action followed in which a British Officer Lieut. Molesworth was killed. However due to the experience gained in the long fought wars in the hills,

the Sepoys did not loose heart and rather continued to march on. From within the fort, Pu Lhukhomang Haokip alias Pache, Chief of Chassad (Kamjong) and under the leadership of Pu Chungkhojang Haokip, the Kuki Warriors started firing at the British forces with pumpi and other guns without fear. The combined British forces from India and Burma also attacked. They had enough guns and ammunitions in the form of the seven-pounder mountain guns, smaller guns and various bombs and other types of arms. Utilising such heavy artillery, they attacked the Kuki armies in Kamjong, the Capital village of Chassad. In Zale'n-gam's Kuki rising, 1917-1919 the Chassad encounter is one of the greatest between the Kukis and the combined British-India and British-Burma forces. Besides Capt. Molesworth, thirty sepoys were killed and many more injured. The Kuki Warriors also suffered heavy casualties. The fort was ultimately broken into. Pu Pache and Pu Chungkhojang, along with the Kuki Warriors abandoned the fort and headed towards the Upper Chindwin forest. The British forces burnt down the fort. The Sepoys had thought that the Kuki Warriors could be easily killed once the fort was forced-opened. On the contrary, they were unable to trace any of the Kuki warriors. In this battle, the Kuki Warriors killed three British officers. But this is denied and not included in the British records. They mention only the death of Lt Molesworth. The important war leaders in the Kuki Warriors during the Kuki rising, 1917 - 1919 in the Chassad Area or Eastern Sector of the Zale'n-gam are:

1. Pu Lhukhomang Haokip alias Pache, Chief of Haokip clan
2. Pu Haokhopao Kipgen, Chief of Molvailup
3. Pu Letkhothang Haokip, Chief of Khotuh
4. Pu Semkholun Haokip, Chief of Phaisat
5. Pu Paokhohen Kipgen, Chief of Bongbal
6. Pu Thangkhothong Haokip, Chief of Maokot

7. Pu Chungkhojang Haokip of Changlet, was the Commander-in-Chief of Chassad

8. Pu Vumtong Haokip of Maokot

These leaders stood united to fight the British force in defence of Zale'n-gam, in the Chassad Area and up to Somra region, now in Burma. The leaders composed a war song in memory of the battle

Phaipi tolkon sap sepai,

Atwi Nganam dung kun na,

Hon thing jan seng nge

Free translation

English's Warriors from Imphal town,

From Nganam river source,

I'll pile you up like fence log

here was also heavy fighting at Chattick, followed by another at Maokot. The British had seen the bravery of the Kuki Warriors in the Chassad (Kamjong) battle, and hesitated to engage in war with the Kuki Warriors again. However, the war had only just halt-begun and so they were compelled to continue. Although they were unenthusiastic, they had to set out on the offensive against Chattik. Though the battle at Chattik was not as much a horror as that in Chassad, the fighting was nonetheless heavy. The fighting lasted a long time. Ultimately, the Kukis could not withstand the combined British forces, which burned down the village and the fort. The British next set out for Maokot. The Chief of Maokot was Pu Thangkhothong Haokip, a man of great courage. The fort of Maokot was guarded under the leadership of a courageous warrior of the village, Pu Letchung Haokip. The British forces launched a surprise attack on the fort, but could not make a break-through. A long fight followed with one British officer killed. Pu Letchung killed two others. Amazed at the

bravery of Pu Letchung, after killing him the British apparently cut out his heart as a sign of triumph over a great foe, similar to headhunting among some tribes or scalping by the Native American Indians. Following Pu Letchung's death, the Kuki Warriors and the Maokot villagers moved out of the fort. Subsequently, the British burned down the village and the fort.

The Kuki Warriors led by the Chassads attacked the British forces that had gone to attack Khongkan fort between Phaikoh and Aisi. As the combined British forces reached the place, Onkhodom immediately shot dead a British officer and the Sepoys dispersed. Following the incident, the British forces carried the dead body of the officer and headed towards Tamu, instead of to Khongkan, and buried him there. Since a white officer had been killed, without fulfilling their mission, the British forces headed towards Tamu for the funeral. The river where the British officer was shot was named Sap thi dung, meaning the river where a white officer was killed. The name of the river remains the same today. The Kukis continued to make preparations for war secretly. The Kuki warriors were based at Chanchaku, located on a hill called Lhangmol (in present day Burma). Chanchaku was a part of Chassad. The Kukis sent a Burmese to pass false information to the British. The arrangement for this was made through another Burmese named Chingbung, who was at one time an interpreter for the British. The information was that a mithun was tied at Chanchaku as a sign of welcome to the British with whom the Kukis wanted to sign a peace treaty. The British accepted the invitation and went along with a Meitei, who was aware of the plan. As they drew closer, Pu Henkholet made a sound with his se'l long (cowbell) to signal to the Meitei man to bring the British quickly. The British were terribly deceived. Pu Thanglhu of Maokot fired on the British officer, who was hit him on the chest and died instantly. Pu Jamkho fired and killed another soldier who was behind the officer. The British carried their dead and went to Homalin. On that day, the people of Maokot composed a ballad to mark the event:

Kumpi ni tolkon sapkang te,

Tuma dougal sel lhang soh,

Dougal sellhang nasoh e selung lemin,

Kaheije mang selung nguita,

Amang selung kanguisah mang,

Tongkai kasan mon hang kasel tai.

Free translation

On the great day of battle, the British were a trophy war

An enemy of yesteryear, moving up the mountain like a mithun,

My enemy, you have come up to the hill for nothing.

I turn the dream of the British into sadness,

I turned his dream into sadness with my gun,

Making him speechless, I overthrow him.

The Maokot people built a big fort on the Mongpi hill. The British fired at the fort with the seven-pounder guns, but the Kukis inside the fort did not immediately retaliate. Their plan was to fire when the British came nearer to the fort. As the British drew nearer the Kukis fired two pumpi at the same time, and the whole area was covered in smoke from the gunpowder. Firing followed simultaneously from various directions. Five British Sepoys were killed. The fighting continued all day and all night. The fort was heavily fortified and the British could not break in, and so they retreated. They fired at the fort with the seven-pounder guns, but they missed. The shots landed beyond the fort. This made the Kukis think they were surrounded. Therefore, they quickly escaped from the fort through secret passage. When the fort was finally broken into, there was nobody inside. The British then burned their dead in the fort. At this battle, there was a man named Pu Letchung form Maokot. Pu Letchung and three of his associates

set out to spy on the British. On their way they came across the enemy near Mathjang village. Pu Letchung's men not being confident suggested that they should run away. But Pu Letchung said, 'Why should we run from the enemy? If you are scared, you run, I will stay and fight.' The three men ran away leaving Pu Letchung to fight on his own. Pu Letchung took position in a small gorge and shot dead one subedar. The British returned fire and injured Pu Letchung in the thigh. Being in agony Pu Letchung screamed. The British then moved in to the scene not expecting the man to be able to move. But to their surprise Pu Letchung fired again and killed one soldier. Thereafter, Pu Letchung was overpowered and his head was cut off. The body of Pu Letchung was brought to Chahmun camp where the British kicked around the head they had cut off. They also cut his fingers. Pu Letchung had extra fingers in his hand. Choisan, an interpreter who had served the British, has related the incident. Pu Letchung had composed an elegy, before he was killed:

If we live courageously, we will never tire of narrating the tales of war against today's government

As a mark of respect to Pu Letchung, Pu Lhukhomang alias Pache Chief of Chassad and the Haokips killed a mithun at the funeral. Pu Tongkholun of Chassad also killed a pig at Phailentang to pay his respect to the dead Kukis in the war. During the war several forts were built in the Chassad area and the Eastern Sector. The most famous among them is the Makan fort. The British attacked the Makan fort on three occasions. On the third attempt, heavy artillery was used to avoid another failure. When the fort was finally captured, there were only three Kuki men inside. The three men had been fighting courageously making it look like there were more men in the fort. In later years, the Kukis established a village on the site of the fort in its memory and named it Kulbung, meaning 'Fort Hill'. At Kultuh (Fort village) in anticipation of heavy battle a great fort was built. The battles with the British also took place at Phunchong, Pharsat, Molnoi and the Kongkan

police station. The Kukis fought very hard, but pitched against an imperial power in the long run they were suppressed. However, the casualties on the side of the British were considerable. The casualty at Matijang is an example. The Kukis placed some poisoned meat, which the hungry forces of the British consumed. Only five survived out of the entire group of fifty. The reinforcements that arrived the following day were subjected to songkhai thang that killed many British Sepoys. To mark the incident, the river near where the trap was set is named Songkhai Dung (Songkhai River). The British overran the whole of Chassad area and the Eastern Sector. However, the Kukis of Zale'n-gam remained resolute to defend their sovereignty and they remained a force to be reckoned with. At the exhortations of Pu Pache the Kuki warriors regrouped and prepared for further campaign against the British in Zale'n-gam.

3. The Battle of Gotengkot

Late Pu Vungjalean Hangsing, Chief of Mongken narrated the events of the battle of Gotengkot to me, in January 1974, at his house in Mongken village. The battle was also referred to in a speech delivered by Pu Dr T.S. Gangte, at the Symposium on The Kuki rising, 1917-1919 held at Moreh.

Capt. Steadman began his operation from the Chin Hills along with one hundred twenty strong British forces, heading towards Gotengkot in the Southeastern Sector. He crossed over the Chin Hills and passed through Behieng, Mongken, Ngaljang, and finally arrived at Singat. From Singat, he passed by Hengtam and Paldai and headed to the Southeastern Sector. Capt. Steadman, was faced with a united Kukis stand in all these parts of Zale'n-gam. He and his men had to fight hard all the way. A few of his men were killed and many injured. By the time they crossed over the Southeastern Sector, of the one hundred twenty sepoys only a hundred remained.

In the Southern Sector, Capt. Steadman and his men crossed over to the Southeastern Sector from Paldai and kept moving towards Gotengkot. At the time, the chief of Gotengkot was Pu Doungul Laithul, the great and passionate Zou chief. He was also a very distinguished warrior. When Capt. Steadman and his warriors entered the territory of Gotengkot, they sensed a difference in the atmosphere. All of sudden, cannon were fired at them followed by more gunfire coming from different directions. In panic, they fired back blindly, not a single Kuki warrior was visible. However, the attack continued. At various passes and steep slopes, stone-traps (songkhai thang) were used in which many of them were killed. Eventually, the British forces made it to Gotengkot. Gotengkot was a big village, surrounded by a fort on all sides. The place was well fortified with sufficient Kuki forces armed with a good number of guns, plenty of ammunition, and the dreaded indigenously built cannons (pumpi). As Capt. Steadman and his warriors arrived at Gotengkot, the Kuki Warriors under the leadership of Pu Doungul opened fire at the approaching enemy. After a prolonged combat, Pu Doungul and his men began to run low on ammunitions. They secretly evacuated the women and children from the village to a safer place. While the evacuation went on, Pu Doungul and the fighting continued. In due course, the British forces armed with modern weapons drew closer to the village. Pu Doungul ordered his men to move away, while he remained inside the fort and kept fighting. Such was Pu Doungul's valour and sacrifice to defend Zale'n-gam. The battle of Gotengkot is said to be one of the most intense battles fought in the Southeastern Sector of Zale'n-gam. In the battle, twenty British forces were killed and over thirty were injured. However, it was a known fact that in each of the battles, the British put their death list much lower. The deaths were stated to have often been caused by diseases. The bravery of Pu Doungul is legendary and remains fresh in the memory of our people.

On 17 April 1997, Pu Ngamkholet Haokip, President of Mangvung Insung (household), Manipur, 70 years of age related his personal

knowledge about many of the Kuki war heroes. Pu Ngamkholet said, 'Pu Khupkhotintong (Tintong) Haokip, chief of Laijang, Commander-in-Chief of Zale'n-gam toured all parts of the land. He took action against the Kuki Chiefs who refused to participate in the war and pressurised them to join immediately. Pu Tintong was an inspiration to the Kuki people. He inspired confidence and strength in the face of war.' At this point, the war in the Southeastern Sector had taken a serious turn because Pu Doungul, Chief of Gotengkot had been killed. Pu Tintong went with two hundred and fifty strong Khongsai Kukis warriors towards Gotengkot. When they arrived at Gotengkot Pu Tintong met the villagers and comforted them. He also encouraged the people to not lose hope, as the Kukis would continue to defend its nation Zale'n-gam. Pu Tintong also went to visit the other affected villages and war victims in the nearby area. He motivated the village Chiefs, war leaders, and the people to go on fighting the British forces wherever possible.

Pu Ngamkholet continued, 'On hearing about the death of the honoured Pu Doungul Taithul, the great Zou Kuki Chief, and the damage done by Capt. Steadman and his warriors to the people of Gotengkot, Pu Thangkhopao Haokip, Chief of Aibol was overwhelmed with sorrow and deeply angered. To avenge his beloved chief of Gotengkot and the village folk, he secretly gathered information concerning the whereabouts of Capt. Steadman and his men. When he received the necessary information, Pu Thangkhopao went with some his men and took position along the route the British forces were to pass. Two days later, Pu Thangkhopao and his Kuki Warriors released the songkhal thang (stone-traps) and opened fired upon Capt. Steadman and his Sepoys. Intense fighting followed between Pu Thangkhopao's Kuki warriors and Capt. Steadman's Sepoys, which carried on for a long time taking its due toll.' This incident is referred to by Pu Jamthang Haokip, in Manipur a Kuki Gospel leh Kuki ho Thusim, pp 39 - 40. Pu Thangkhopao Haokip, Chief of Aibol, had a dream. *Kolgam minthang Thangkhopao vutsat*

mang e, khupong len kap ing kate minthang Thangkhopao. In simple translation the meaning of the dream is: the famous Thangkhopao of the land swept the dust away, let me take a big war-trophy, I the great Thangkhopao.' The following day during a skirmish, he was shot in the foot. He then rolled down into the nearby gorge. The Sepoys wanted to take him alive, but when they approached him, he shot dead one of the men. The Sepoys returned fire at Pu Thangkhopao. He remained quiet and loaded his gun. The British forces thought he was dead and went closer towards Pu Thangkhopao who again fired and shot dead one more. A Jamendar of the Sepoys climbed up a tree to locate the exact place where Pu Thangkhopao was hiding. The Jamendar was also shot down from the tree. Finally, when they had no option left, the Sepoys threw a hand granade and Pu Tahngkhopao was killed. This great Kuki War hero killed all together one British Jamendar and three sepoys.

The British regarded Pu Thangkhopao Haokip, Chief of Aibol as one of the greatest amongst the Kukis warriors.

On one occasion, when the Kuki warriors ran short of ammunition, five of them fought only with their swords and cut the throats of several British forces. Capt. Steadman seeing the incident with his own eyes was filled with anger. Deeply humiliated, Capt. Steadman set out towards Longya village with the remaining warriors. The British forces thought that because of the number of villages already burnt by them, the other villages would have been abandoned. But, the Kukis were not to be discouraged or scared off by such incidents. Rather, they became more determined to fight the enemy. Having been greatly inspired and encouraged by Pu Tintong, the Kukis resolved to fight the Sepoys to the bitter end. When Capt. Steadman and his Warriors reached Longya village, a fierce battle broke out which lasted for a long time. Ultimately, due to their superior weapons, on 27 January 1918, the British forces with great difficulty captured Longya village and set it completely ablaze, yet again.

Thereafter, Capt Steadman and his men went down to the ravine and after crossing it, headed towards Haika Village. Capt Steersman's plan was to capture the Anal Kuki village and then join Capt Coote and his party But on the way, he found another well-built Anal Kuki fort. The British forces had not understood the techniques of Kuki warfare, and they tried to enter the fort from the front gate At the entrance of the gate the cannons blasted them There was heavy firing The brave Kuki Warriors of the Anal Haika village killed eleven British forces. The Burmese Officer who accompanied the British forces was severely injured. Col L W Shakespeare (1929, p 219) writes of the incident: A very long stockade barred his path, against which Steadmen made a frontal attack and failed to take it, losing 11 (eleven) killed and many wounded Steadman, the only British officer with them, was badly wounded in three places, the carriers began to bolt, and the Column was obliged to retreat to Lenakot - a most unfortunate incident, due to inexperience of the British officer in command

Due to heavy casualty Capt Steadman and Capt Coote could not meet at Khatlet village, as planned for a joint attack. The Kuki Warriors had critically hampered their strategy. Since he could not join hand with Capt Steadman as planned, Capt Coote marched towards Lonpi village with his warriors to capture the Chief Capt Coote and his warriors had recovered information that the chief Lonpi, Pu Ngulkhup Haokip, was hiding at Nungomu village Capt Coote and his warriors took about five days climbing up and down the hilly terrain, trying to find Pu Ngulkhup Nungngomu and the surrounding villages had already been well prepared for the war and built forts around the villages When the Kuki Warriors saw that British forces were approaching, they started firing on them from within the fort The approaching Sepoys retaliated and heavy fighting carried on for quite a long time Due to shortage of supplies, the Kukis could not continue the fight much longer There were also women and children in the fort, whose safety was a concern Therefore, they left the

village quietly through a secret passage. The British forces were unable to trace Pu Ngulkhup or any of the people

On 7 February 1918, the British forces again set out for Nungngomu village in pursuit of Ngulkhup They passed through a dark and thick forest When they reached the middle to the forest, bullets rained on them causing much confusion amongst them Unfamiliar with the terrain, the Sepoys could not make progress in the jungle The jungle was also full of huge rocks and heavy timber, which the Kuki Warriors used to set rock and log traps The British were stuck in the middle of the dark jungle, trapped as if inside a fort Whenever they tried to make their way over the logs, the Kuki Warriors would shoot them at In the process two of them were killed and several were injured In this fight Kukis were armed with about one hundred home made guns Though the British forces tried their best to capture the Kukis, they were unsuccessful Where the British forces took position, there was no way out on either side of the hill But, Capt. Coote took Jamedar Kalga Singh's platoon and tried to find his way through one side of the hill, while the remaining kept firing from the middle where they were trapped For sometime the firing stopped, and as Capt Coote and his men moved on, at one place they found some guns and drums left behind by the Kukis They figured these were left behind in order to carry away the injured From the general commotion around the battle spot, the British forces estimated there might have been around three hundred Kuki Warriors Maj Gen D K Palit has recorded this incident (1984, pp 70-71)

On 7 February, as his column was threading its way along the top of a densely wooded ridge, shots rang out and the leader of the left flankers was killed. The advance guard extended and was soon busy No enemy or position could at first be discerned and pushing through the tangled jungle it was found that a high ridge of rocks crossed the hill at right angles. A dip in the centre through which the narrow track led was heavily stockaded and the space in front of the rocks for some 40 or 50 meters was littered with a

mass of trees felled by the rebels, forming a serious obstacle to negotiate. Two of the advance guard was killed and several wounded at the near edge of this obstacle. At this juncture both Mr Higgins and Colonel Shakespeare decided to take the field as junior leaders. With a group of riflemen they tried to turn the flanks, but the ground being very precipitous and covered with dense thorn jungle, no way could be found. For three-quarters of an hour heavy firing went on, so the gun had to be brought up to break down the stockade. At the third round the gun Havildar, the gun layer and two others of the gun team were badly hit. This effectively put the gun out of action, while Higgins received a somewhat severe contusion on his shoulder from a spent bullet. All that could be seen of the enemy were the muzzles of muskets thrust through interstices in the rocks, fired, and rapidly withdrawn again. The Kukis must have had some 70 or 80 muskets and the whole time the most astonishing din of men shouting and drums beating arose from their position, adding to the noise of the action. As no way round either flank was possible, Coote decided to rush the position with Jemadar Kharga Sing's platoon on the left, covered by the fire of another holding the front. With the Jemadar went the D I G. However, to 'rush' was impossible, as each man had to climb over or under the innumerable tree trunks thickly littering the ground. One outburst of fire came from the rocks as the platoon broke cover, but no one was hurt. Then there was a sudden silence in the position, and as the first lot of men began climbing the rocks, Coote's firing ceased. The enemy had bolted, carrying their wounded (for many blood patches were found), but they had left behind some weapons and drums in their hurry. The position, by nature strong, had been rendered still more so by the piling up of loose rocks and timber breastworks at weak spots, while the passage through was stockaded with a double row of heavy timber posts, loop-holed. From the large number of firing platforms, the trampled state of the ground and the food left behind, it could be estimated that there were probably some 300 Kukis holding the position and of whom there was now not a single.

About a mile from the battle spot, the Sepoys soon reached a big village called Khengjoi (Khengjoi) village. The Chief of Khengjoi village was Thangkhohen Haokip, a well-built man and a great warrior. Khengjoi village is situated at a beautiful location. From Khengjoi village, there is a good view of Eastern Zale n-gam's Kale and Kabow Valley. When the British forces arrived at the village, they found the belly of a tiger, at the gate's entrance. Oddly, it looked as if the tiger belly was set as a sign of welcome. However, not a single villager was to be found. By the time the British force reached Khengjoi village, they had already run out of their food supplies. They used a mirror to reflect signals to their friends. Their friends at Tamu recognised the reflection made by the mirror and realised that their friends were in need of help. Tamu, (a border town between present day India and Burma) is only thirty Kilometres away from Khengoi. The British force at Tamu supplied sufficient food grains to Waithok village in Central Zale'n-gam (now situated at the Border of India and Burma). Capt Coote and his men set fire to Khengjoi village and headed towards Waithok.

Capt. Coote and his Warriors took it easy as they moved towards Waithok. They did not anticipate that they would be attacked on the way. At a certain place, the Kukis unleashed stone-traps and fire upon them. Four of the British forces were killed on the spot. After a time of firing from both sides, the Kukis left the place and returned to a safer place. The British force, being rather helpless against guerrilla warfare, continued to move towards Waithok. Waithok is a small Burmese village surrounded by teak forest, coconut trees, and Khangra. It is an ideal resting-place.

4. The War against the British in other parts of Zale'n-gam, 1917-1919

A Burmese Civil officers named Myouk met Capt. Coote and his men. He took them among the paddy fields and showed them the ready-made hiding places. At that place, supplies of food-grain and other essential items of war were stored. The Burmese officer

also showed them a bungalow, built to accommodate the three British Officers. In that bungalow they rested for about two days. Both, Capt. Grantham (a Burmese Police officer) and Lt. Kay Mouatt (a Burma-Bombay Training Coy) were in the British Reserve force. They had arrived from Tamu, a distance of about 35 Kilometres. These two officers brought a number of bullock carts for transporting war weapons for Capt. Coote and his Warriors. The two officers also informed the Capt. Coote that, the 'Kuki rising' has spread all over the Upper Chindwin & Kale Kabaw Valley because the Kukis will fight to defend their land at any cost. The British officers also added that the Warriors stationed in Burma have also prepared for the war against the Kukis in Tamu and surrounding areas. A reinforcement of the Sepoys would set out from Tinzin under the leadership of Capt. Patrick. They were to fight the Chassad Haokips in a joint effort. The Chassad Kukis had already burnt down the Kangal Thana (Police Station) and the Government Rest houses at Homalin nearby. They had also cut off the telegraph lines and killed several people. The two Officers also said that according to the news received from Imphal, the Kuki warriors had already declared war in Northern Zale'n-gam, up to the Kohima border as well as in Western region of Zale'n-gam, the present day North Cachar Hills and Silchar areas of Assam. It was reported that the Kuki Warriors had destroyed all the rest houses and blocked the Imphal-Kohima-Silchar Road. A message was also received that Maj. Cloete and his warriors from Soda tried to re-open the Silchar-Kohima-Imphal Road. This highway was one of the longest highways of British India. It was immensely important, as it was the only means of communication and transporting essential supplies for the British forces stationed in that region. The loss of control over the road seriously handicapped the British India Government. Maj. Gen. D.K. Palit (1984,p. 72), notes:

They brought the news of the spread of the rebellion to the Chindwin valley. They also said that a Burma column was being formed at Tamu, which would shortly be joined by another coming

up from Tinzin under Captain Patrick, both intended for operations against the Chassad Kukis who had begun serious raids near Kangal Thana and Homalin. News was also received from Imphal to the effect that the rebellion had spread northward into the hills towards Kohima, and that the Silchar road had been closed, with many rest houses destroyed by the Kukis.

On 11 February 1918, Capt. Coote and his column left Waithok village and moved northwards. This was Kuki rising (Zale'n-gam's War) and the Burmese were not part of the war. They helped the British as they were under them already. Capt.Coote and his warriors passed through the deep forest of Zale'n gam, full of teak, sandalwood, khangla, yangngou and many other rich forest produces. It is said that the British wanted to capture Zale'n-gam because they saw the riches of the land. The British forces were well supplied with food grains and ammunitions. In their passage through Zale'n-gam, they were attacked and obstructed every inch of the way by the Kuki Warriors. The British forces had no time to take their war victims. They often simply left the dead bodies behind without burying them. The British forces set fire to Changbol (Changpol), Gnarjang (Ngeljang) and Pantha (Panta) villages. They then proceeded towards Rekchu Hill (Lonpinu gamvetna), a mountaintop where they camped. The mountain Rekchu is about 1,750 meters above sea level. While the British were resting there, the Kuki Warriors attacked in the middle of the night. Heavy fighting took place throughout the night. It was only at dawn that the shooting stopped. From there, the British forces were to take a road through steep hills, but that did not seem bother them anymore. They had been fighting the Kukis long enough and gained some experience of hill walking.

Following a skirmish Capt. Coote and his column set out towards their destination. They had to pass through a steep road on the Rekchu hill where the Kuki Warriors had already set various traps. When the British forces arrived at the spot, they were fired with pumpi and guns. The songkhai thang were also released on them. The Kuki guard manning the cannon had triggered it a little earlier,

which caused it to miss the main target. A number of the British forces were injured. Several of the enemy sepoys were shot dead and a few were killed by the songkhai thang set for them. The last Kuki village that Capt. Coote and his men burnt down after a long fight was Pantha (Panta) village. From Pantha village to their next destination Pallel also they had to fight the Kuki Warriors all the way. They could not reach Pallel as planned. In spite of it being only a day's journey, it took them four days to reach Pallel. From Pallel, they passed through the Manipur valley and finally arrived at Imphal, their headquarters. Having been through sharp thorns and thick grass, it is said that when they arrived at Imphal, their clothes were badly torn. However, they were greatly praised afterwards for having to fight and overcome the Kukis. Maj. Gen. D. K. Palit (1984, p.73), records:

The defence of Rekchu hill was evidently intended to be a big affair, the enemy having prepared a line of breastworks and shelter pits commanding the track up which the column was toiling. However, they had not noticed the flankers and opened fire too soon. The flankers were also in ignorance of the presence of an enemy until the shooting started, and each little party found itself on the right and left of the Kukis. The latter, on seeing their flanks turned, bolted down the far side of the hill after the first brief interchange of shots. From Pantha (Panta), the last rebel village punished in this area, the column left the hills and descended into the Manipur valley at Pallel, whence two marches brought it-now a ragged and, in many cases, a bootless crowd-to Imphal, after an extremely hard five-week operation. However their experience has vastly improved the training, efficiency and morale of all ranks.

5. British India and British Burma Fight against the Kukis

When Capt. Coote and his Column arrived barefooted at Imphal from the Southeastern Sector, they needed quite a long rest at their Headquarters. They believed that the war with the Kukis in different parts of Zale'n-gam might have already been subdued.

But in the Northwestern part of Zale'n-gam, the war had become worse and was spreading like rapidly. The Zalen-gam Kuki Warriors had already cut-off the telegraphic lines. Government rest houses and Police Stations were burnt down. The British and the other residents of the adjoining hills and Manipur valley were panic-stricken. The Kuki Warriors attacked and burnt down the villages that sided with the British forces, sparing none. The battle against the Kukis of Zale'n-gam coincided with World War I. Most of the Sepoys were sent to fight the war in Europe. They badly needed more sepoys for the war against the Kukis. The British forces stationed in Lushai hills, Assam and from Burma were called in to fight against the Kukis.

Maj. Cloete and his column, which were entrusted with the mission to clear the Kuki Warriors occupying Imphal-Kohima-Silchar road, were obstructed on their way by attacks from the Kuki Warriors. As a result, they could not advance further towards Imphal. It was about forty Kilometres to Imphal, and news of their injuries and deaths were reported at the headquarters. Maj. Cloete and his Sepoys were to reach Imphal and proceed towards Mapithel area to fight the Kuki Warriors there as well. As the war progressed, the Kuki Warriors defending Zale'n-gam became emboldened. The British forces had already suffered heavy casualties. More reinforcements were to arrive from Kohima and Sadia. Furthermore, in order to fight the Kuki Warriors in Chassad, the Deputy Inspector General had to rely on the help of the Burma Military Police. The Chassad Area covers the present-day Ukhrul District of Manipur (in present day India) and the Chindwin Valley up to Homalin (in present day Burma). After the war, the British split Zale'n-gam. A part of it was included in India, and the rest in Burma. During this period, the situation became worse in the Barak valley (Jampi and Laijang Area). The Deputy Inspector General sent an urgent message and dispatched one hundred fifty personnel of the British 3rd Assam Rifles from Kohima, under the command of Lt. Sanderson. The British 3rd Assam Rifles under the leadership of Lt. Sanderson headed towards Dulen

village, the heart of the Kuki war against the British. The Kuki warriors at Dulen had anticipated the British Force. Fighting broke out. The British force being better armed, eventually were no match for the Kukis armed with flintlocks. The Kuki Warriors moved away from the fort for the safety of the women and children. After they left, Lt. Anderson and his warriors burnt the village. The Kuki Warriors leaving Dulen village went towards the Northeast and cut off the Imphal-Kohima Road. This caused a major crisis for the British Government. In order to clear this road, reinforcement was sent, both from Imphal and Kohima. After a long struggle, the British managed to regain control of the Kohima-Imphal Road. To prevent future Kuki capture of the road, the British Government set up two new Warriors posts at Kangpokpi and Karon (Karong). The Kuki Christians and western missionaries in the area extended help to the British.

6. The Burma Sector

he Burma Sector covered the present Sagaing division up to the Chin Hills. The British commanders in this sector were Capt. Falkland and Capt. Montifore, from the 1st and 3rd Assam Rifles. They had fifty Sepoys each under their command. In this sector there was also other high-ranking officer, namely Col. Abby, Maj. Burma and Mr. Wright, superintendent of Chin Hills. A contingent under the command of Maj. Hackett from Homalin also arrived at Sayapoh (Saihaphoh). Maj. Hackett had to fight his way through Homalin. The villages he passed through, such as Leivomjang, Mengdong, Khomunnom, Thamanti, Sopakai, Phoilen, Joljam and Khotuh were all well fortified. Maj. Hackett's men who were very well equipped and in good number, were met with stiff opposition from the Kuki Warriors. Maj. Hackett faced the most difficult battle at Dansagu (Chanchaku), and was unable to reach Sayopoh (Saihaphoh) in time to join the other British contingents.

The Kukis in this region vowed to defend Zale'n-gam. This was in accordance with the resolution adopted at the Phailengjang or North Chassad meeting. At that meeting, the Kukis delineated

responsibilities and encouraged one another. Following the resolution, the orders of Pu Chengjapao to defend Zale'n gam were issued to the Kuki chiefs of the region. To mark the occasion, a mithun was killed and the customary Sajam were distributed to all the great Chiefs and petty Chiefs in the region. In preparation for the war, the symbolic Thingkho-le-Malchapom was sent to the surrounding villages.

The significant Kuki Chiefs from Phailengjang or North Chassad present at the meeting are.

1. Pu Kamjahen Haokip, Chief of Phailengjang
2. Pu Jalhun Haokip, Chief of Molnom
3. Pu Haokhopao Kipgen, Chief of Molvailup
4. Pu Vumngul Kipgen, Chief of Tujang
5. Pu Letjahao Chongloi, Chief of Khomunnom
6. Pu Tongkholun Haokip, acting Chief of Phailengjang

The war of Zale'n-gam reached its peak in this tropical region in mid April. It is the time of year when the heat is strong and dry. The rains are still a few months away. Such climate was not favourable to the British officers. At this point, the Kukis made fresh preparations to continue the war, while the British returned to their respective headquarters to recuperate. Capt. Coote and his Sepoys sailed down the river Chindwin up to Kendat (Kentat). A battle took place in the Kabaw valley and the Jangmol Hills at Molkengkai against between the Zale'n-gam warriors and the British Sepoys. From Tamu Capt. Coote and his men headed towards the Imphal Headquarter. Pitched battles were also fought at, Naugkatek, Nang- Khauh-Khauh, Sabozisin, Khampet, Tingkaza (Tuisa), Canan, Natjang, Tuivang, Tuidumjang, Khomunnom, Jangouphai, Haipijang, Changkap and Tuikhal. A number of Sepoys were killed in these battles. Most of the Kuki villages were burnt down. The Kukis were not as well equipped

as the enemy and so they had to leave and hide in the deep jungles of the Jangmol hills As told by our forefathers, in the deep jungles of Jangmol the Kukis prepared safe hiding places for their women and children with sufficient food reserves. Capt. Coote and his troop reached Tammu exhausted. From Tammu, they headed towards Imphal Headquarter By the time they reached Imphal, it was already the middle of May An episode that occurred during this period worth mentioning:

The Kukis surrounded Haka village, one of the major camps of the British forces. This incident happened in early December 1917. Capt Falkland and Capt Montifiore, with the 1st and 3rd Assam Rifles went to rescue Haka from the hands of the Kukis Enroute, they passed through the Lushai Hills. Fifteen days later, they arrived at Haka Before arriving at Haka, they received information that Haka village has been liberated by the Kukis. The British Burma Military Police became aware of the situation at Haka through a SOS message The Burma Military Police from Rangoon, the capital of Burma arrived at Haka in great numbers. When the Kukis went to block the Burma Military Police force as they were approaching Falam However, the approaching enemy were much greater in number and so the Kukis had no choice but to retreat In the skirmishes that followed, a number of the Sepoys along with members of the Burmese Military Police were killed and injured. The British forces continued towards Haka but were faced with another Kuki opposition they were suddenly attacked at close range with pumpi They were also victims of songkhai thang. A number of them were killed again. The Kuki warriors did not suffer many casualties as they always attacked from their hidden posts After two consecutive stiff resistances the Kuki warriors could not repulse the Sepoys from Haka However, it is to be noted that Haka remained impregnable by the British force for a long time Capt Falkland already received the news that Haka had been regained from the Kuki Warriors while he was still on his way Capt Falkland and his troop were sent to fight in southern Chin Hills, alongside the Burmese Military Police under

the leadership of Capt Abby Mr Wright, superintendent of Chin Hills was also sent along with them. They were to fight in Yokwa and Kappiaton areas in southern Chin Hills. In the battle that followed between the Kukis and Falkland's Sepoys, Mr. Wright and another British civilian Mr Alexander were injured A number of Sepoys were also killed and many more were injured After a few days Montifiore and his column arrived at Haka They were sent to subjugate the Kukis in Bawkwa area near Tao Peak. Towards the end of February 1918, the Burmese Military Police and Assam Rifles were grouped together and sent out towards Lenakot (Denlakot) along the border of the present day State of Manipur. This column was sent as reinforcement to Capt. Steadman and his troop at Lenakot, who were on the verge of being squashed by the Zale'n-gam warriors Capt Steadman's Sepoys comprised of those from India as well as Burma

Apparently, this had made him more popular than his colleagues in other battlefronts. Capt. Steadman and his men inflicted innumerable hardships on the Kukis. The Kuki elders say that was done in revenge for the heavy casualties the British suffered earlier Capt. Steadman and his Sepoys fought with the Kuki warriors at various places, but the most fierce and hard to forget of them all was the one at Haka This battle in Haka occurred at the Longya fort. The Longya fort was very well built and guarded round the clock by the Kuki warriors under the command of Pu Ngulbul, Chief of Longja There were a number of pumpi installed in the fort Pu Ngulbul was a fearless man and was most patriotic Capt Montifiore and his men had heard about the glories of Pu Ngulbul and were eager to see him The Sepoys moved out to attack Pu Ngulbul and his men who fought hard to defend Zale n gam, using each and every available gun and other weapons they had The women also participated in the battle They used whatever weapon they could lay their hands on. The old and the aged also helped by repeatedly loading the muzzleloaders However after a long battle, the Sepoys being greater in number and better armed, captured the fort. When it had become clear

that the fort could not be held any longer, Pu Ngulbul ordered some of the men to evacuate the women, children and the aged from the fort. During the evacuation, Pu Ngulbul and a few of the Kuki warriors continued fighting. When they were running out of ammunition, Pu Ngulbul ordered his men to get away from the fort. The sepoys began to break into the fort. While trying to scale the fort in order to escape from the British, Pu Ngulbul who was carrying his little child in his arms was shot dead.

Shakespeare has recorded the above incident (1929, p 228): He successfully attacked and destroyed the big stockades near Haika, incurring a few casualties and causing much loss to the Kukis, amongst whom was the redoubtable Ngulbul, Chief of Longya, shot while trying to escape from the stockade with his little son in his arms.

There are other versions of the way Pu Ngulbul Haokip was killed. Pu Ngamkholet Haokip's, (President of Mangsung Chandel District, Manipur) version recorded on 18 April 1997, is as follows:

After the fall of Longya fort, when the people inside the fort had run away, the British Force did not pay attention to any of them excepting Pu Ngulbul. He was running along with his daughter, and being a little girl she could not run fast. For the love of his daughter, he did not leave her behind, even though he knew the British were specifically after him. When they passed through the thick forest on the bank of the river Tujang, his daughter was too exhausted and could run no farther. The sepoys caught her and made her call for her father. The girl called, crying out that the British has caught her. Her father heard the cry of the girl that echoed through the forest. Pu Ngulbul, deeply moved ran towards his daughter. It was then that the British sepoys intercepted and killed him by cutting off his head. Pu Ngulbul's daughter was made to carry her father's head in a longkai (cane basket) up to Hengjang village. At Hengjang, the British sepoys were made to dump the head of Pu Ngulbul to feed the crabs. When the wife of

the Chief of Hengjang came to know of this incident she composed an elegy.

Kol Ko'l phungchong lim noiju,

Mangvan chot sajang nalap,

Teddim Pumjamang

Pu Semyil Haokip, Chief of Khongbung also heard about the death of Pu Ngulbul Haokip, Chief of Longya, and deeply moved he also composed an elegy.

Bullen mang cheng kiling un,

Laija toimang long louna

Simmang saijute

7. The Upper Burma Sector

Capt. Prior and Lt. Rees commanded the British forces in the upper Burma sector (in present day Somra track, Burma). The Kuki Chiefs, in response to the call of their Supremo, Pu Chengjapao Doungel to defend Zale'n-gam, were to commune and deliberate upon war efforts. Sajam was performed at Joujang Khopi (Joujang Township). The prominent chiefs who attended the summit at Joujang Khopi are,

1. Pu Tongkholun Haokip, Chief of Joujang
2. Pu Jalhun Haokip, Chief of Molvom
3. Pu Letkhothang Haokip, Chief of Khotuh
4. Pu Semkholun Haokip, Chief of Phaisat
5. Pu Sonkhopao, Chief of Twisom
6. Pu Tukih Lupheng, Chief of Tonglhang
7. Pu Laso Haokip, Chief of Selmei

The Kuki Chiefs respected the word of their Bulpipa (the senior most in clan lineage) Pu Chengjapao Doungel, Chief of Aisan. Pu Tonghao, the host Chief gave a feast to his fellow Chiefs by killing a mithun. In a most sacred ceremony they took part in the eating of the liver and heart of the mithun, symbolising their unity, solidarity and commitment. Sajam was circulated to all the chiefs of the region. The speedy circulation of Thingkho le Malcha as a declaration of war followed this. Any Chief who refused to comply with the order of Pu Chengjapao would have his chieftainship forfeited and his village burnt.

On the basis of the pledge taken at the Joujang Summit, the war preparations began. Each and every village was heavily stockaded. The Kukis being gifted in the art of warfare were adept in manufacturing their own guns and gunpowder. Guns, bullets, gunpowder, foodstuffs and all articles of necessity were stocked in abundance. Outside the enclave of the village, songkhai Thang (stone-traps) and Songpel thang (catapulting stone trap) were laid at many strategic points, for example, in narrow gorges or at the edge of a cliff. Ngahmun (camps) were also set up at safe places to protect the women, children and the aged from the hazards of war.

The sons of Zale'n-gam's upper Burma had completed their war preparations. The British forces under Capt. Prior and Lt. Rees were also set for the war. They were bent on subduing the Kukis. In the course of the war the British forces suffered heavy casualty and fell easy prey to the stone-traps. On many occasions, before a single shot was fired many of the British sepoys had already sustained broken limbs from the traps. The British sepoys were panic-stricken. It was only the superior arms and sheer numbers that later turned the tide of the battle in favour of the British. During the monsoons in August 1918, Gen. Keary and Col. Macquoid returned to Shillong where they adopted certain changes in their war policy. They went to Burma to inspect the bases of the forces stationed there. Lt. Sanderson was instructed to march

southward, down to the river Nantalit or Tizu. He was to set up three bases to the north of the rivers Keramy, Niemi and Matung. These camps were intended to check the northward movement of the men of the Haokip clan Chief Pache from Chassad Area of the Somra tract. Beginning in April, the constructions of these base camps were completed the following year in June 1919, and were fully manned by the British sepoys.

In August 1918, when Subedar Hangspal Limbu was in command of the Niemi camp, the Chassad Kukis were in a state of northward movement being pushed from Northeastern Zale'n-gam. The Subedar, having received information of this from his informers, came on the heels of the Kukis. In a series of encounters that followed, the British forces lost many of their men at the hands of the valiant Kukis. Pu Laso Haokip killed five British sepoys. He is well remembered for his indomitable ability to fight and to go without meals for days on end. The fateful day for the Kukis however came while the fight was on at Zoro Choro. As Pu Laso was escorting the women, children and the aged across the river Tizu or Nantalit, they were taken by surprise by the party of Subedar Hangspal who was helped by the Pochury Nagas. They mercilessly butchered forty Kuki people. This is accounted by Col. Shakespeare (1929, p.232) as follows:

'In August Subedar Hangspal Limbu, commanding the post at Niemi, on receiving information from 'friendlies' that a larger body of Chassad Kukis was approaching to cross the river, met them and in a sharp fight killed thirty of them and drove the rest back into Somra". This incident was most gruesome. Though Shakespeare gives the impression that the people killed were fighting men, in actual fact the butchered were helpless women, children and old people crossing the bridge. This incident is alive in the memory of many Kuki people. The river Tizu turned red from the blood of the people killed. Heaps of the slain bodies lay scattered across the riverbanks and were a gruesome sight.

Lundei, grandmother of late Pu Paulun Haokip, Chief of Akhen, who survived the massacre, recounts:

When the war finally broke out and cries of woe rent the air, I, being blind and feeble, was left behind to take shelter beneath a huge rock by the side of the riverbank. There, I remained silently with my dog, listening to the commotion created by the people crossing the bridge. Then came the cries of pain and sorrow. I heard Chungkhojang's mother abusing the men twice, before she was no longer to be heard. She was a woman of wealth, adorning herself with necklaces of beads. I heard the clear crunching sound of the many beads of her necklaces, caused by the repeated hacking to her neck. Her head must have been lopped off when the necklaces shielding her neck gave in.

Such excesses of the British forces, in utter violation of war ethics, not sparing children, women and old people, but using them as soft targets during the First Kuki War of Independent, was just beginning. After this sad incident, Pu Laso Haokip led his surviving people into safety near Molheh camp (presently in the Akhen and Kanjang area of Nagaland, on the Burmese border) where they remained in solitude and tried to console themselves in their time of sorrow. The place has since been known as 'Laso camp'.

8. The Northeastern Sector (Near Aisan, adjacent to Ukhrul)

The territory under the reign of the Aisan Chief Pu Chengjapao Doungel, King of the Kukis in Zale'n-gam includes the adjoining areas of Chassad. It is now under Chingai sub-Division of Ukhrul District. Pu Chengjapao's area also includes the region connecting up to Kanjang, Akhen and Meluri areas, in present day Nagaland. In this sector, the leader of the British forces was Lt. Mawson. The Villages that were under the reign of Pu Chengjapao in the present day Chingai sub-division of Ukhrul District are Toljang, Haijang, Chahjang, Vahong, Kharasom-Kuki, Kolhui, Paosei, etc. in the present Meluri area of Nagaland, Aisan, Mollen, Thenjang,

Molnom, Haijang, Nungphung-Kanjang, Saisopakho, Khomunnom, Akhen, Songsom, Daithang, etc. The Kuki-British war was fought in most of these villages. The Pochury tribe living in these areas wanted to take advantage of the presence of the British to throw off the Kuki yoke. Therefore, some of them went to the British officer in Kohima and complained against the Kukis. The British dispatched a column of British sepoys under the Col. GS. Burrow, to attack the Kukis. The British forces terrorised the Kukis and rounded them up. This took place in the Chassad Hills. In the Vahong region, the British sent Col. GS. Burrow with a platoon to destroy the Kuki camp and to capture Pu Chengjapao. While col. Burrow and his men marched through a gorge, he was ambushed and killed by the Kukis under Pu Haolhun Lotjem. This incident occurred at the treacherous and steep pass of Khomanglhang. The road was at the very edge of the steep hill. Pu Haolun Lotjem shot the leader at close range. The British were after Pu Chengjapao, but as their leader was killed, they retreated. Pu Haolun composed a ballad for to commemorate the occasion.

Van theisen le sen angkol thongnu seng,

Namin lunglel laija selum sung nge,

Nathing noija doungal bonang tohing

Lhangvai mangpa lhang nonang ka selle

Gam sihtwi bang kale lonsah ngonne

Kangthal panin moltina jan cham ming,

Pupa gamlei gujang ka chu na hi

Free translation

Leaving behind my beloved wife and children at home,

I now stand holding my shield at a place where none else dare.

Walking beneath the overhanging vines in the jungle,

I came face to face with the white man (Col. G.S. Burrow)

I knocked him dead, and he fell down to the ground.

When I knocked the Englishman he fell like a log.

I felt as if the current of the river began to flow in the opposite direction.

Taking my weapons, I have passed many nights in many a mountain. I do these to recover the domain of my forefathers

The Kukis under the leadership of Pu Chengjapao fought the British forces at Aisan. Kharasom Kuki, Toljang, Haijang, Kolha, and Vahong. The greatest battle took place at the Aisan village. Aisan was well fortified and inside there were a good number of guns and ammunitions stored. The Kuki Warriors was in great numbers too. They were thoroughly prepared for the war. The British could not break into Aisan in one attempt. In the second attempt, many of them died. On the third attempt, Pu Chengjapao's warriors ran short of ammunitions, and had to give up the fort. The fort was burnt to ashes.

Pu Chengjapao received Changseo (rice- tax), Samal (the thigh of an animal killed for an occasion or on a hunt) and many other tributes from the villagers. This made a number of our people envious and disgruntled. Amongst those dissatisfied with the Kuki king were Pasut Singson and Mr. L. Pochury of Nagaland. When the war with the British started, these two leaders started working hard to end the rule of the Aisan Chief. With the help of Subedar Hangspal, they started collecting the guns around Aisan. Of the collected guns, seven hundred belonged to Aisan. According to Pu Jamkhochung Kuki, aged 97, the collected guns were burnt under a mango tree, below Meluri village. Pu Jamkhochung added, "had the British force not collected seven hundred guns from Aisan, even on the third attempt, they would not have succeeded in breaking into the Aisan fort." The British forces led by subedar Hangspal Limbu destroyed the Kuki villages in Kanjang and

Akhan area (in present day Nagaland). After the war, the British rewarded Letkholal Singson and Sutmang Singson alias Pasut as Mujdars. In these parts of the Kuki areas. Letkholal Singson and Pasut Singson were given the posts of Mujdars for two reasons a) because the former had gone to assist the British Force in France and b) for help extended to the British as and when it was required. With the approval of the British, Haijang Village was changed into Kanjang, and the people began to settle there

9. The Southern Sector (present-day Churachandpur District).

This sector covered the whole of the present Churachandpur district of Manipur. Capt. Goodal, Capt. Fox, Lt. Carter and Lt. Hooper commanded the British forces in this sector. At the counsel of the Kuki Pipa (Head of the lineage) Chief of Aisan, Pu Chengjapao all the Chiefs within the sector assembled on March 1917, at Ukha. On this very day, as ill luck would have it, a party of Zou and Haokip youths in search of a mithun accidentally encountered the British. There was a skirmish between the two parties. The meeting was therefore adjourned. Another meeting was held at Henglep. By May 1917, all the chiefs that gathered at Ukha met at Henglep. Among the notable Haosalen (great chiefs) were:

1. Pu Pakang Haokip, Chief of Henglep
2. Pu Semchung Haokip, Chief of Ukha
3. Pu Semkholun Haokip, Chief of Loikhai
4. Pu Goulun Manlun, Chief of Hengtam
5. Pu Langjaching Manlun, Chief of Behiang
6. Pu Tongjalet Haokip, Chief of Teiseng
7. Pu Semthong Haokip, Chief of Songpi
8. Pu Vungjalen Hangsing, Chief of Mongken

The Semang le Pachong (the Chiefs' Council of Ministers) accompanied their respective chiefs at the summit. Some of the Chiefs were not convinced concerning the decision for war. They did not voice their disapproval at the summit, but it later became apparent, as the war progressed. As in Joujang village, Pu Pakang Haokip, Chief of Henglep, feasted his fellow chiefs on mithun meat. Sajam was performed and accompanied by Thingkho le Malchapom, to proclaim to the Chiefs of the war and to appeal to their undivided loyalty to fight against the British. In their bid to defend their motherland Zale'n-gam, the Kukis in this region, led by their Chiefs swooped down to Imphal valley and made the offensive. They attacked the police Thana (station), damaged the telegraph lines, destroyed government property and killed several of the telegraphic office personnel. Soon after these acts were committed they retreated to the hills and prepared for war. When news of the Kuki offensive reached the authorities, the Deputy Inspector General (DIG) summoned Capt. Goodall, Lt. Carter and Subedar Bhavani Singh to march from Aizawl. This party arrived at Bongmol village by March 1918. In Singngat area the Zous and Haokips together fought against the British. This has been recorded by Pu Jamthang Haokip (1984) in Manipur a Gospel le Kuki ho Thusim (An account of the Gospel and the Kukis in Manipur).

The Zou Kukis also joined the Haokip Kukis. Two of the Zou men died in the war. In this war against the British their clan Chief Pu Langzaching, Chief of Behiang, led the Zous. They stockaded their villages of Hengtam and Lhite. In an exchange of fire that lasted for a whole day in these two fortified villages, Sokvel a Zou lost his life on the banks of the river Goon (Imphal River). Another man Sokam Mate, from Khajang village also died in this encounter. It is believed that the British must have also been killed. But since they fled the field, not leaving anything behind, it is difficult to say. One thing however is clear: the Zou Kuki is gallant and patriotic. They fought fighting for the love and independence of their motherland. Later, when the British

government imprisoned the Haosalens (notable chiefs) and leaders of the war, the Zou Chiefs had not been jailed. It was reported that this was the case because of their declaration that they were only sepoys of Tintong Haokip.

Pu Lelkhai Haokip, aged about one hundred, witnessed this battle. He narrates.

The fight against the British was most intense and fierce. The united resistance put forth by the Zous and Haokips will remain a memorable event in history. On hearing the advance of the British forces from Aizawl and their advance towards Behiang, Pu Khupkhotintong (Tintong) Haokip, Commander in Chief, led a band of one hundred and twenty Kuki warriors to Hengtam. These men came from the western sector of the Laijang and Jampi areas. All along his way to Hengtam, Pu Tintong saw how each section of the Kuki warriors stood their ground against the British forces at Henglep, Ukha and the Loikhai areas. Several days later, the British forces under Capt. Goodal, Lt. Carter and Subedar Bhavani Singh stormed the heavily stockaded fort of Hengtam. The Kuki warriors did not lose time in firing their pumpi at the storming party. Smoke from the pumpi fired enveloped the sky in darkness. The British forces resorted to their seven-pounder mountain gun and fired indiscriminately on the Kukis. The heavy exchange of the gunfire resembled a crackling bamboo forest on fire. It was a pitched battle and a long-drawn, which eventually turned in favour of the British forces. This was only due to the superior arms and ammunitions the British possessed.

Dr T.S. Gangte in the Morch symposium held on May 3, 1997, spoke of the bravery of a young Zou Kuki youth in this fierce battle. The young Zou was said to have braved the bullets of the British as if they were powerless against him. He was then hit on the head by shrapnel from the seven-pounder mountain gun. In this battle alone the British forces were said to have wasted more than 2,000 bullets. Their arms and ammunitions were enough to put an entire region down. On the other hand, the Kuki warriors,

no matter how brave and daring had to evacuate the fortress when their supply of ammunitions started running short. After the fortress was deserted, the British forces overran the village and burnt it down. However, the British forces were not left unopposed. Under the leadership of Henglep and Loikhai, a further mobilisation of men was carried out from the adjoining areas of Hengtam. At one point between Singngat and Sumchinvum, the British forces were taken by surprise. They were said to have lost many sepoys, including officers, in the ambush. There was no casualty on the Kuki side in the Southern Sector. Henglep and Ukha were the two strongest bases of the Kukis. Their locations were extremely strategic and the forts strong. Two abortive attempts to capture the forts were made by the British forces. Having failed to break in on two previous occasions, they made elaborate preparation for the next attempt. As Ukha was on the way to Henglep, as well as to a few other villages in the southern sector, it became the first major target for the British. Anticipating attack, the men from Hengtam and Ngaljang marched towards Ukha, as reinforcements. A war veteran Pu Ngamkhothang Lhungdim led the Kukis. A strong contingent of the British forces under Capt. Goodall, Lt. Carter and Lt. Hooper were soon on their way to attack Ukha. The Kuki warriors from Henglep, Leimatak and Loikhai also came to the aid of Ukha. A fierce battle ensued between the Kukis and the British that lasted for twelve long hours. Against the superior arms of the British forces, the Kukis put up a brave fight in defence of Zale'n-gam. They successfully kept the British at bay for as long as their supply would last. Here too as in other places of battle, when supplies began to run out the Kukis evacuated the village and retired to the jungles. This particular attack witnessed the participation of the Meiteis with the British forces, despite the fact that the Kingdom of Manipur was taken forcibly by the British in 1891. In the wars to protect Manipur, three Haokip Kuki men lost their lives helping the Meiteis. Dr. T.S. Gangte at the 'Moreh Symposium highlighted these facts 3 May 1987':

What became of Loikhai in the hands of the British enraged Semkholun Haokip Loikhai. He led a band of men and pounced upon the advancing British sepoys in the vicinity of Tenjang village in the Thingpilen slopes. Panic stricken, the sepoys fired aimlessly in all directions. They lost five Sepoys in the hands of the Kukis and thereupon abandoned their march to the hills of Zale'n-gam and retreated. Besides the sepoys, the Kukis killed two men of the Postal Department, who were secretly working as informers to the invaders.

The British forces under the same command set out once again from the valley of Manipur towards Henglep and Leimatak areas of Zale'n-gam. Before arriving at Henglep, the British set up camp by the banks of the river Leimatak, where the plan of attack was drawn up. Before the British could execute their plan, the Kuki warriors who were under the leadership of the Chief of Henglep attacked them. Many of the sepoys fled the camp to save their lives. The bullets of Pu Ngulkhodong Haokip of Songphu, in the Lushai (present day Mizo) hills hit one of them, a white soldier. After firing several rounds, the Kukis retreated to their base. The surviving British sepoys camped at another place close by. Before they could re-group, they busied themselves chalking out future plans. The news of the approaching forces had been known in the Henglep area. The Kuki warriors stood in position awaiting the attack. The British had to pass through Khengjang, which was a steep climb from the river Leimatak. When they arrived at the village, song khai (stone-traps) were released. Ten British sepoys went rolling down the Cliffside. Many of them suffered broken limbs. Undaunted by these initial reverses, the advancing British sepoys continued to climb the steep hills that led to Khengjang stockade. After covering about a Kilometre or so, the British were on top of the mountain from which they saw the Khengjang stockade, still at a distance. At this point, three of them were shot dead by pumpi. When the British forces gained ground, the Kuki warriors manning the stockade retreated to Henglep. The British sepoys were too exhausted to pursue them and halted at the

overtaken fort Henglep was still a long journey away The following day at the break of dawn, the British forces set out for Henglep, leaving Khengjang in flames After a six-mile journey, they reached the banks of Peko'l stream, nearby which was a village called Thangsie The chief of the village knowing well before hand that the sepoys would cross this path had organised an ambush Two sepoys were killed and five fatally wounded However, despite their valiant efforts, the small band could not check the British sepoys for too long The Kukis later reorganised themselves without losing time More men were summoned from the neighbouring areas, then they retreated into the walls of Thangsi, where they waited to pounce upon the advancing British sepoys. Women, children and the aged were moved to safety after which a fierce encounter followed The British sepoys right away resorted to their mountain gun to counter the Kuki pumpi Some of the Thangsi folk today recount the thunderous echo of these guns through the deep ravines of the river Leimatak Both sides suffered heavy loss of life and sustained serious casualties. The British forces having finally gained the upper hand, the Kukis evacuated the stockade and retreated to Henglep. The village was later reduced to ashes by the victors Thirty domestic mithuns were said to have perished in the fire Henglep, the main base of the Kuki warriors, was not far from Thangsi village The fierceness of the resistance put up by the small band of Kukis at Thangsi and the difficulty with which they overcame the resistance began to induce doubt and fear among the British Sepoys. The prospects of their success in storming the fortress of Henglep were very little Besides, their strength had been put to a severe test and they were greatly reduced in number in the previous two encounters. With many in their ranks wounded, they were in no position to advance further. They halted for a number of days during which their porters transported the wounded back to the valley They then reorganised themselves and set out for Henglep, which by now was within a day's journey They had earlier failed to take Henglep and thus, their preparation this time was massive and formidable

In numerous strategic and hidden spots, groups of Kuki warriors were positioned to ambush the advancing Sepoys By setting off and triggering song khat, raining arrows or by firing pumpi, the Kuki warriors managed to kill many of the sepoys Thus harassed and checked all along the way, the British sepoys could not reach Henglep as planned and arrived only after three days

On arrival, the British sepoys under Capt Goodall, Lieutenants Carter and Hooper, were welcomed with pumpi fire from the strong fort of Henglep; then bullets followed which scattered them in all directions They suffered heavy casualties even from this initial shift. Their rifles failing to penetrate the huge blocks of timber used in the fortifications, they resorted to their mountain guns Pu Pakang Haokip at the other end exhorted his men to fight to the last drop of their blood, in defence of their motherland, Zale n-gam It was a fierce battle and gunfire did not cease for a moment After a long- drawn battle, the exhaustion of the Kuki ammunitions paved the way for British victory Evacuating the camp, Pu Pakang Haokip led his warriors to safety Infuriated with the heavy casualty, the British sepoys torched the camp Many brave and strong Kuki warriors also lost their lives for Zale'n-gam in this battle The sepoys committed further excesses by killing the mithuns in the village. This was done because the pumpi (canons) were made from the mithun hides, rolled around bamboo barrels After the fall of Henglep, the stockades of Gouthang, Songphu and Nabil fell in quick succession These villages were also reduced to ashes Meanwhile, in western Zale'n-gam, the British forces under Lt Hooper carted large supplies of provisions from Silchar to Imphal. This movement of supplies came to the knowledge of Pu Tintong, who organised a band of Kuki warriors and garrisoned Kaopum (Khopum) under his command to cut off the supplies Pu Mangkhoson Haokip, Chief of Tingkai and Pu Heljason Haokip, Chief of Loibol joined hands with Pu Tintong Heavy fighting followed The Kukis having controlled these areas checked further movement of Lt. Hooper's sepoys A rescue operation was planned under Lt. Waller and a band of fifty British

sepoys were despatched from Imphal to relieve the party of Lt Hooper. After a few days detention by the Kukis, they cut their way through to the Imphal headquarter. The late Ex-MLA, Ngulkhohao Lhungdim, in 'History of Manipur' p 136, wrote:

However, some among the Kuki Chiefs, for instance Tongjalet, Chief of Teiseng, despite his pledge were won over by the British with offer of a gun, a red shawl and the rank of a Havildar. They became informers to the British, leaking secret information about the movement of the Kukis. Semthong Haokip of Songpi and Tintong Thouthang were also such other Chiefs. The former was supposed to have provided vital information to the British. His decision was however prompted by his reluctance to undergo the trials of war rather than any sympathy for the British. He also enlisted several men to serve as labour in the French front during the Great War.

Pu Ngulkhohao continues (p 153):

Tendering an apology to the British for remaining hostile, Tongjalet even chose to become a Havildar at least during wartime, and a gun and a red blanket was later offered for his services to the British. The British with his connivance burned seventy houses of Lotkhai village. Thus the Kuki Chiefs sang:

Lamtol changsel mei nasat

Phungmin nalo tong lum ah,

Gollung naluppin, Teiseng Tongjalet.

Free translation

Oh! Teiseng Tongjalet,

Though you had cut the tail of the mithun

And sworn in the name of your ancestors,

You have slept without accomplishing your task

Under the guidance of Tongjalet and Tongkhothong the British led Assam Rifles marched via Monglham and Mongken, to subdue the village of Lotkhai. The Kukis however secretly sent a young man by the name of Pu Lun-ot to mislead the Assam Rifles. On approaching the village, Pu Lun-ot signalled their arrival. The Kukis killed twenty sepoys and the rest of the sepoys retreated. Pu Lun-ot and Pu Doujang were hailed as heroes of the village. But soon after this incident, more British sepoys came and seized Lotkhai. Despite the destruction of all major bases in the Southern sector or Henglep areas, the leaders of the Kukis did not lose heart. Instead they gave fresh orders to their men to fortify their respective villages. They also exhorted their men to make fresh preparations, some to making gunpowder and others to manufacture ammunition.

10. The Western Sector (Laijang and Jampi)

In 'History of Manipur', p.121, late ex-MLA Pu Ngulkhohao Lhungdim wrote about the war in the western sector:

Places where fighting occurred: Sangnao, Loibol, Leimata Khopum, Khimuching, Laijang, Zoupi, Dulen and Kanukin. The British as well as the Kukis lost many of their men fighting in this sector. In April 1918, Sepoys of one hundred fifty of the 3rd and 4th Assam Rifles advanced towards Manipur under Major Vickers and Lieut. Sanderson and reached till Henema village, a point which Major Coote failed to cover. On their journey back via Amiol they were ambushed and cut off at Buolkot. In the surprise attack, one British soldier was killed. Halting for three days in Amiol they continued their march, passing through Laijang. Here they found only three women and a man and took the man along to Tamenglong, where the Kabuis killed him. Thence, the British Sepoys moved towards Jampi. The Chief of Jampi despatched a troop of forty youths to thwart the advance of the British. Lengsei the Kuki hero killed three British sepoys. He was then injured and the British Commander wanted him captured alive. Lengsei bit the neck of the man who attempted his capture

and as such the commander ordered him to be beheaded. The British carried his head away and the Kuki Sepoys recovered his remains and buried him at Taloulong.

Here, mention may be made of Pu Vumngul Kipgen, Chief of Tujang, who owing to his differences with the Chiefs, migrated towards the East in the Burmese territory. However, as the war extended to that part as well and he could not escape fighting. He put up a brave fight and was among those Chiefs jailed in Burma Taunggyi Jail for three years. Meanwhile, Pu Vumkholal Kipgen and Pu Mangkhong Sitlhou attempted to bring an understanding between the Kuki Chiefs and the British. But such attempts having failed, the Assam Rifles marched towards Taloulong. In a newly dug grave they discovered the body was of Pu Lengsei. They immediately burnt down Taloulong and over ran a stockade about five miles away. There was heavy exchange of fire that lasted for a period of twelve hours, in which four sepoys of the Assam Rifles lost their lives. There was however no casualties among the Kukis. The Assam Rifles next marched to Buning. The Chief of Buning, Pu Thangjakhai Kipgen offered to make peace with the British. He slaughtered a goat and offered wine. But as soon as the negotiations were over, in a breach of faith, the British sepoys opened fire and torched thirty houses in the village. They also harassed the children and women folk. From Buning the British Assam Rifles proceeded to Jung and halted a week. They made preparations to attack the nearby village of Kolkang. The way to Kolkang was uphill and very steep, and at a narrow strait songkhai thang had been set. The traps were released, instantly killing twenty sepoys. Some of the other sepoys fled the place. Anticipating the fall of the stockade, Pu Jakholet Haokip gave word to his men to lead the children and women to a place of safety. The Assam Rifles had again regrouped and were making a fresh offensive from another quarter. In this encounter, Pu Jakholet lost his life, fighting courageously for Zale'n-gam. The British Sepoys next marched towards Sangnao. Pu Letkholal Singson and Pu Onkai Sitlhou volunteered themselves to defend the British

invasion. But anticipating imminent defeat, the chief offered terms of peace to the British and the village was saved from destruction. But the Sangnao Chief was however fined a penalty of Rs 1, 100 a Kuki gong, five mithuns and six guns. The British occupation of Sangnao and the treacherous betrayal of its chief demoralised the Kuki Chiefs in the western areas. Thus when the British passed through Haipi, there was no longer any resistance offered to the British. Pu Ngulkhotinpao Kipgen of Haipi shot a British sepoy dead. He composed an ode to mark the incident:

Khat in vabang kamaove,

Twihang longte ngotbang kating-e;

Singcha lhah lamkailong honthing vumme

Pu Letkholal Doungel relates an account of Pu Lengsei Doungel

Pu Lengsei Doungel ventured out to fight the British from Khaochangbung village. The village folks honoured him with a shawl, killed a pig in his honour and set him off to face the challenge. In the land of Jampi, he sat and waited under the thickets of a Banyan tree. He ambushed the advancing British sepoys and killed a frontline soldier. Before he could launch a second attack, he was shot in the leg. Shifting himself to the nearby edge of the cliff, he was pursued. But before re-loading his gun, he was apprehended. The British beheaded him and his head was dressed in his turban, and his beads taken. He is one among those who sacrificed their lives for Zale'n-gam, in the war against the British.

Until this time the two roads linking Manipur with the rest of the world - the Silchar- Imphal road and Kohima-Imphal cart road, were not proper highways. It was through these two roads that provisions including foodstuffs and equipment for the British forces were transported. These roads lay within the Western sector of Zale'n-gam. Pu Khupkhotintong (Tintong) Haokip, and Pu Enjakhup Kholhou, sat together chalking out war plans. On one occasion, it dawned on them that control of these two lines would

jeopardise and weaken the British force. To this end, all government rest houses were burnt down and all communications lines, including the Telegraph lines, were destroyed. Totally cut-off, the British forces were in complete disarray. All supplies from Silchar (the Silchar Convoy) were shut off, which paralysed the headquarters at Imphal. As this road was of immense strategic importance to continue the war, the British force made a great effort to regain control. In the attempt to regain control the British forces lost many sepoys. The Kuki warriors and the British was quite a match in this area as the battles proved to be inconclusive. When Pu Tintong of Laijang successfully fought the battle against the British, an ode was sung in his praise

Amin kithang thang Tintong,

Vei ha khoso mol tin a,

Hanjei soh vui kai

Free translation

The most famous Tintong!

Poems in your honour has echoed over the land

In the territory of your enemies

Tintong's reply

Hanjei soh vui kaideh tang,

Phunggol baiphu kalah nin

Thungvan dong nol ing

Free translation

Of course, my fame must echo everywhere,

Tales of my might touches the sky,

The day I avenged the death of my brethren

At the Jampi meeting, Pu Onpilen, Chief of Joupi and Pu Onpilal made a proposal to set up Kul (a base) near Joupi. While Pu Tintong and Pu Enjakhup found the proposal agreeable, the other Chiefs present did not. Kul was made instead at Dulen. Pu Onpilen and Pu Onpilal were upset by this development and in order to ensure the survival of their people they collaborated with the British officer at Taning village. They represented Joupi, Santing, Boljang, Chalwa and Geljang. According to the agreement, the British who set out from Taning to fight the Kukis spared the area of Boljang and attacked the Dulen fort. There was heavy fighting and eventually Dulen was overtaken. To avenge their defeat at Dulen, the Kuki warriors planned to attack the British at Tamah (Tamei). They wanted to kill the British officer. As the officer stepped out of the Tamah camp, a Kuki warrior aimed at the forehead and fired his gun. Unfortunately, the shot missed the forehead and hit the officer on the ear instead.

Towards the end of such a long drawn battle, the continual flow of British sepoys could not be checked. The control for the Silchar-Imphal road once again passed into the hands of the British. On the other hand, the Kukis under Pu Enjakhup Kholhou, Deputy Commander-in-Chief gained control of the Imphal Kohima cart road. They also burnt Government rest houses and cut-off telegraph lines. It amounted to another serious problem for the British. However, no matter how heavy the casualties caused by the Kukis on the British, towards the end they proved stronger. The British regained control of the Kohima-Imphal cart road. By May 1918, though most houses in the villages in the Western Sector (Jampi and Laijang Areas) had been torched, the Chiefs were never demoralised. They were committed to the cause. As the war to defend their land Zale'n-gam began with the call of Pu Chengjapao Doungel, it was also for him to decide when the war was to end. Preparations were made afresh - rebuilding of

stockades, making arms and ammunitions, to face British yet again.

11. The Events of Chalson Tengnoupal

Pu Chalson Baite established Chalson Tengnoupal in 1887. During the Kuki rising, 1917-1919, Pu Thangchung was the chief of Chalson was a great ruler. He was the son of Pu Chalson. At the time when the chiefs of Ayapurel area gave in to the British due to severe hardship, Chalson remained faithful to the cause of Zale'n-gam and persevered in the war. As the war progressed, eventually the British overtook Chalson. Since Chalson did not submit to the British the village was burnt on the fourth day of resistance. The British also shot fifty of the mithuns. The British left the meat of the mithuns to rot. However, they cut off the tongues and took them along.

The village of Chalson not only endured to the bitter end of the war. They also contributed by way of manufacturing weaponry items such as two Pumpi and several kilograms of gunpowder. They also prepared thoroughly in terms of allocating responsibilities to those who were to go and fight and those who were to guard the village. Pu Thangchung's younger brother Pu Thanglun Baite was made one of the war leaders. He was also a good marksman like his older brother. At the river Chakpi, the Kuki warriors positioned themselves to fight the British sepoys. Pu Thanglun Baite was selected to be the 'sniper'. He was to be the one to signal when to open fire on the advancing British sepoys. However, this plan was abortive because some of the young Kuki warriors by some freak incident opened fire before receiving the signal as planned. Therefore, the British were spared from being completely annihilated. Among the many other places of war that Pu Thanglun Baite took part in, the incident at Songpel is worth mentioning. At Songpel Pu Thangchung and the Kuki warriors fought a pitched battle, which lasted a long time. They killed many British sepoys.

12. The Northern Sector (Athibung, in present day Nagaland)

Areas under this sector were in the Naga Hills of present day Nagaland State. Lt. Prior and Lt. Sanderson commanded the British forces in the Northern Sector. Two hundred sepoys of the 3rd Assam Rifles were placed under their command. Paohen Lotjem and a few other Chiefs led the Kukis. Areas of the Kukis in present day Nagaland were the present Zeliang and Kuki areas. The places where fighting occurred were Kandung, Songlhuh, Songsang, Mechangbung, Paona, Sinjol, and Chalkot, Selseu River and several other places. In those days, one of the best arts of warfare for the Kukis was the Songkhai lain along narrow paths or edges of cliffs. These were the terrains the British Sepoys were expected to take. Many British soldiers perished as victims of these traps. On receiving instructions, the Kuki villages built stockades and guarded each village with guns and pumpi. The Kukis of the northern sector suffered from severe limitations of supplies.

13. The Assam Sector (North Cachar and New Cachar Hills)

This sector covered Kuki inhabited areas in North Cachar Hills and Karbi-Anglong of Assam. Capt. Copeland was the British commander in this sector. News of the Kuki offensive reached DIG Col. Shakespeare at Kohima, while on his way to Shillong from Imphal. It was reported that six belligerent Kukis started attacking Government institutions and property, and were harassing the British government servants. They also brought down telegraphic lines, attacked Police Thanas and killed many policemen. As the post offices served as the main communication medium between the British and their allies, the offices were attacked and many of its personnel killed. To the extent they could, the Kukis burnt down and damaged whatever they could lay their hands on.

The labourers hired by the Government for tea plantations were not spared either. They were attacked and driven away from the

gardens, thus creating acute scarcity of labour. Within a short time the Kukis spread terror in the North Cachar Hills and Karbi Anglong areas of Assam. In dismay, Railway Volunteers also evacuated the town of Haflong (later learnt from the words of Capt. Copeland). The Kuki warriors in a group of 70-80 people went about freely, terrorising people loyal to the British and to attract attention, wherever they went. To counter this, the DIG despatched one hundred rifles of the 2nd Assam Rifles under Capt. Copeland, to Haflong. The heroism displayed by the Kukis in defence of Zale'n-gam in North Cachar Hills and Karbi-Anglong areas of Assam was not prompted by a decision of their own. It was a positive response to the clarion call of Pu Chengjapao Doungel, Pipa (Head) of the Kukis. The Chiefs of the region assembled at Halflong by the week ending April 1917, to make deliberations in response to Pu Chengjapao's call. The instructions of the Kuki Pipa were notified to all the chiefs. The Haflong chief slaughtered a mithun for the occasion. By partaking in the consumption of the liver and heart of the mithun in the Sajam ritual, it was agreed that all the Chiefs of the region should co-operate in the defence of Zale'n-gam. In the event of a refusal (as in other parts of Zale'n-gam), the village concerned would be burnt down and the existing chiefship removed. According to the agreement reached, instructions were circulated regarding the fortifications of the villages and position to be taken in battle. It was only after elaborate plans and chalking out of strategies that the Kukis fought the war. It was a war that shook the entire region. Thus, the Kuki warriors and the British forces were engaged in many battles. The British force of ten sepoys (2nd Assam Rifles) led by Capt. Copeland suffered loss of lives and a few were fatally wounded. To keep the Kukis in check, the British garrisons were stationed at Lautek, Hangrung and Baladan on the Manipur border. These garrisons remained until November 1918, when the situation subsided.

Chapter XIV

The Second Phase of the War Operations

After the first phase of the war, the British as well as the Kukis re-organised themselves for another phase of war in Zale'n-gam. In Shimla, the summer capital of British India it was decided that Maj. Gen. Sir H. Leary (appointed GOC in Burma for the next phase) should be the overall in command of the next phase of the British operations. Col. Macquiod was to take command in Manipur (i.e. central Zale'n-gam). The DIG was ordered to complete all preparations before winter arrived.

As fresh preparations got underway, Maj. A. Vickers of 3rd Assam Rifles offered his suggestions, which were duly accepted. His suggestion for the war operations was the division of the whole of Kuki Zale'n gam into regional units. Groups were to be formed to fight in the regional units. Elaborate plans were laid out in such a way that the Kukis might be effectively tackled. Provisions and reinforcements for every unit were to be prepared. The following are the units created by the British force:

1. Jampi or Western Sector supply base and headquarter at Bishenpur, Henema and Tappo (Taphou)
2. Henglep or Southern Sector, HQ at Moirang
3. Mombi (Lonpi) or Southeastern Sector, HQ at Shugunoo
4. Burma Road Sub-Area/Ajapural, HQ at Pallel 5, Chassad Areas or Eastern Sector, HQ at Jangaipokpi (Yaingangpokpi)
6. North Tangkhul towards Kohima Aisan Area, HQ at Tadapa (Tadubi)
7. Somra-Tizu sub-area Nantalit area, HQ at Melomy (Melun)

In between the vast stretches of land bordered by Chindwin (or upper Chindwin, i e within present day Burma, carved out of the territory of Kuki Zale'n-gam) and Chassad area, the Kukis created their own groups and bases:

1. Leishi and Joujang areas supply base and headquarter at Joujang
2. Tonglhang, Mengdong and Khomunnom areas, HQ at Thamanti
3. Phailengjang, Sadih (Sadih), and Molvailup areas, HQ at Homalin
4. Chetti, Nampalong, Mantou (Kuki), and Phaijang, HQ at Khampat
5. Twisa, Jangmol and Lallim, HQ at Zoumun

Gen Keary left for Shillong in August 1918 He was accompanied by Col Macquod, who was on the verge of receiving promotion to Brigadier-General They submitted their proposal to the headquarters, regarding the complete routing of the Kukis of Zale'n-gam during the coming winter The GOC endorsed the proposal and duly consigned the Assam Rifles for the mission

Escorted by Col Shakespeare, Gen, Keary left for Burma to co-ordinate the British forces in India with those of the Burma Military Police After these meetings, the British were ready for the second phase of operation against the Kukis. The period concurred with the last days of the First World War in Europe A considerable number of Kukis, who joined the first labour corps recruitment to serve in France, returned Letkholal Singson, Ngulhao Thomsong, Vungkang and Tenthong Touthang were a few of them Unfortunately, a majority of these Kukis sided with the British. The second phase of the Assam Rifles offensive against the Kukis began with Sangnao being its first target At that juncture, the son of the Kanjang Chief, Letkholal Singson and Onkai Sitlhou, the Songdo Chief - both trusted persons of the British - convinced the Chief of Sangnao to submit to the British. As the Sngnao chief was won over, his village was saved from destruction. He was, however, fined five mithuns, a gong, six guns and Rs.1, 000 by the government of British India While the battles were fought in full intensity, villages were burnt down, heads were chopped of and limb-less body spread all around The act of betrayal by a responsible chief infuriated the Kuki leaders. The Chief of Sangnao was among those who promised loyalty to the cause in the Sajam ritual at Jampi It had been agreed that villages showing disloyalty would be burnt down and its chief stripped of his title As per the resolution, some villages that failed to remain loyal had been already razed to the ground and their mithuns killed. But even before such penalties were carried out on the Sangnao chief, he expressed his fury in lyrical form

U le nao vin Solkar douuh hite eitin,

Sum-minthang kavan mang kalha tai.

Free translation

Our Kuki brothers told me to defend our sovereignty,

But alas, I have lost all my wealth instead

Many brave Kuki warriors lost their dear and loved ones, including their villages. However, despite such losses they continued to fight for Zale'n-gam to the bitter end. The breach of faith by Pu Songchung Singson of Sangnao was received with a sad note. Rather ashamed of him, they adopted a cold attitude and ex-communicated him. Pu Khotinpao, Chief of Taloulong, losing two of his sons in battle replied in an elegy:

Sum minthang le navan mang nachanle,

Kei toi kamkei hoija vaitham hitai me?

Free translation

If you lament the loss of your money;

What about my beloved sons who were like

the young Leopard?

Pu Songchung Singson being a big Chief should have been one among the front-ranking leaders to fight. He would have won the accolade of his people, but for his act of surrender, he had their rebuke instead. Therefore he remained unknown among the ranks of the Kuki leaders. He lost an opportunity that would have made him one among the great Kuki heroes. Many Chiefs shared similar feelings of being let down and were in fact demoralised by the act of the Sangnao Chief. For this very reason, when the British forces were passing through the village of Haipi, they were not resisted. But Pu Ngulkhotinpao Kipgen, his heart heavy with rage secretly pursued the British forces and took them by surprise at the path leading to a Kabui village. He fired volleys from his guns and killed a British Officer.

Over this heroic deed, he composed a ballad.

Khat in Vabang kamaove mur Lhangpola.

Twibang longte ngoili bang kating'e,

Singcha lhah lamlai long hon thing vum'e

Free translation

As a love bird hummed over the western hills,

Sepoys like flowing water as a dam I checked

In the middle of Kabui road lay corpse like stalk.

After the surrender of Sangnao, the British forces and a band of twenty-five Kuki warriors were engaged in a fierce fight at Dulen. The Kukis resorted to their pumpi but it unfortunately misfired, but they still killed a rifleman. Sir Nicholas Beatson Bell in his Report to J.E. Webster, Letter No 6810, Dt. 27.5.1919, records this incident:

Our columns had marched through hostile country over coming opposition and destroying enemy villages, and property but they had killed or captured every few of the enemy and no Chief of importance, while the causalities on our side were on the whole heavier than the enemy's. The opposition showed little signs of slackening, and it was clear that unless the Chiefs came of their own and surrendered, which seem unlikely, further measures would be necessary.

The large contingent of the 4th Assam Rifles left Dulen for Nakacheng. On the edges of the cliffs leading to the village, songkhai thang were laid. But as the guard on duty was not alert the British Sepoys entered the village. There was no alternative left for the village but to surrender. From Nakacheng the British forces proceeded to Chongjang and Khungpum. In these villages intense battle took place. The Kuki Warriors lost three sepoys and four were fatally wounded. Pu Tintong, the Commander-in-

Chief sought help from the Angami-Naga and Kabui-Naga, but to no avail. With Akhui-Nagas, the Khoutum Kukis had a good relation. A pig was killed on which they feasted together to strengthen their ties. The relation between Akhui-Kabui Nagas and the Kukis of Khoutum was however short lived. The Akhui-Nagas raided the Kuki village of Natjang, and burnt down the entire village, killing all its inhabitants excepting

two who were away at that time. In return, Pu Tintong and Pu Enjakhup along with their men burnt the Kabui villages of Natop, Khungakhun and Choloi.

A few Kuki Chiefs and Kabuis co-operated with the British, making movement for the Kuki warriors most difficult. Based on secret information received, Jamedar Bokul Thapa, Lambu, Dongpu and five sepoys along with armed policemen and set out in search of the Kuki leaders. The Dy. C-in-C, Pu Enjakhup Kholhou however had already escaped. But, Pu Lenkhokam Chonglol from Assam was captured. Pu Lengkhokam was invited by Pu Tintong and Pu Enjakhup to make guns for the Kukis.

On 19 July 1918, the British India Government acting on behalf of the British Empire announced from Calcutta that if the Kuki Chiefs leaders of the war should surrender before the month of November 1918, they would be granted general amnesty, including their families. With this declaration Pu Ngulhao Thomsong who led the labour corps to France started to influence Pu Kilkhong alias Khotinthang Sitlhou to submit to the British. Initially, Pu Kilkhong refused, but was later convinced and led to Imphal headquarters by Ngulhao Thomsong, where he surrendered thirty guns. The surrender of the villages of Sangnao and Jampi, to a great extent weakened the Kuki forces. The Chassad Chief Pu Pache Haokip after considering the future of Zale'n-gam and the Kuki people, arrived at the conclusion to end the war, but provided the British government would agree to his terms and conditions. In such an endeavour, Pu Pache sent a representative to the British Government. His proposal was not accepted. The terms and

conditions offered by Pache Haokip to the British Government for Zale'n-gam was as follows:

a) Acknowledgement of the existence of Zale'n-gam

b) General amnesty for all.

This event is recorded by Maj. Gen. D.K. Palit (1984, p 80):' In the south Chief Pache offered surrender under certain terms but was refused, whereupon his tribe began new series of raids on villages in the Ukhrul region'. Pu Pache wanted the British Government to leave Zale'n-gam to the Kukis as before, i.e. as a sovereign territory in which its people governed themselves in their own ways.

When the British did not accept his terms, Pu Pache was all the more provoked and he started the destruction of telegraphic lines, the government rest houses, etc. yet again. They began attacking any supporters of the British. The battle was drawn to greater intensity than the earlier phase and it brought absolute chaos and turmoil in Zale'n-gam. Much disorder and destruction had been brought in by the provocation of Pu Pache. To counter Pu Pache, the British forces deputed the 3rd British Assam Rifles. During the negotiation period, the Kukis had reorganised themselves. They collected sufficient arms and ammunitions, pumpi and re-fortified their camps. However, the British forces were better equipped and thus the battle was theirs in the end. Pu Pache and his men were unable to withstand the onslaught of the British force. They retired to the Kabaw valley in Eastern Zale'n-gam, now in present Burma. The First World War had just ended in Europe. The British forces returned to India and reinforcements were created to fight the Kukis. It was the hope of the Kukis that the Germans would emerge victorious over the British in Europe and come with sufficient weaponry to help them win the war. But unfortunately for the Kukis it turned out to be otherwise. After the victory of the British over the Axis powers, the British forces had sufficient arms and ammunitions with unlimited manpower

Maj. Gen. D K. Palit recorded the event (1984, p 80)· In October 17, extra British Officers (mostly from the Indian Warriors reserve of Officers, many of whom had served in various theatres of the great war) joined the rifles to take up their duties with the units. Reinforcements from Sadiya and Aizawl were received in Manipur so that by early November the Assam rifles force for the Second Phase of the Kuki operation reached a total of 30 British Officers, 55 Indian Officers and nearly 2,400 rifles. The 17 extra British Officers were: major H.D. Marshall, Captain N.B Fox, Captain W.P. Reid, and Lieut R G. Black, Lieut. G.D Walker, Lieut. Scott, Lieut. E.J. Ashwith, Lieut. C.F Jeffreys, Lieut. P.A. Armstrong, Lieut. G. Longden, Lieut. Goldsmith, Lieut Mack (Transport), Lieut. Willis, Dr. Crozier.

On November 1918, a command was placed in the hands of Brigadier-Gen G. Macquiod. The other command in parts of Zale'n-gam (in present day Burma) was given to Gen. Keary. He formed his headquarter at Kendat By mid-November, they were all set to launch their operations against the Kukis. At each of the supply bases provisions including arms and ammunitions, foodstuff and other necessities were stored sufficiently. Their basic strategy was to fight the Kukis continuously with no gap in between to enable them to re-mobilise. Having tested the ingenuity of the Kukis in warfare, the British made elaborate plans. The operations in Zale'n-gam in their full details would be too voluminous. However, it would be appropriate to highlight a few of the notable events.

1. The Western Sector (Laijang and Jampi)

The British forces in this sector proceeded from Kaopum (Khaopum) to Laijang and Jampi The British forces were hot on the heels of Pu Khupkhotintong (Tintong) Haokip, Commander-in-Chief and Pu Enjakhup Kholhou, Deputy Commander-in-Chief, and the remaining Kuki warriors The Kukis remained elusive, constantly leading the British forces into the most hazardous terrain where songkhai thang were laid The traps

continually claimed a good number of victims. News reached the British camp that Pu Tintong and Pu Enjakhup were in hiding at the village of Loibol. A strong force set out to apprehend the two men The Kuki warriors lay in waiting for the British advance near the village of Kolkang. Shots fired from a distance by Pu Letjatong and Pu Somjadou sent the British captain, fixed to his binoculars, rolling down the Jiri valley. Five more British sepoys were killed in the ensuing conflict. The idea of ravaging Laijang the village of Pu Tintong and of proceeding further was therefore altogether abandoned. Later, the British

forces approaching from three directions attacked Laijang The villages were set to flames and the British forces went on to pursue the chiefs of Laijang and Thenjang. However, Pu Tintong and Pu Enjakhup, along with Pu Heljason Haokip escaped. The British forces had to start their pursuit all over again At this stage, the Kabuis and a few faint-hearted Kuki chiefs had begun to collaborate with the British It became increasingly difficult for the Kuki leaders to remain in hiding While the British force was preoccupied with the capture of Pu Tintong and Pu Enjakhup and the Loibol chiefs, there were other encounters at Kebuching Already short of ammunitions, the Kuki were under pressures to fight much longer. Meanwhile, the British officer Montifiore with a strong force from Tapao (Taphou) clashed the forces of Pu Tintong and Pu Enjakhup in the fields between Dulen and Laijang Here too, the British failed to capture Pu Tintong and Pu Enjakhup

2. The South-Central Sector

For the third time, in March 1919 Capt Coote led a large contingent of British forces into the territory of Mombi (Lonpi) Longya and Ayapurel. Pu Ngulkhup Haokip Chief of Mombi (Lonpi) had earlier banned the British from his country This closure brought them untold repercussions - great suffering and misery - from the British But undaunted, the Kukis chose to keep up the fight One of the memorable events in these fights was the loss inflicted on the British sepoys at the Pangsang gorges, near

the present village of Chahmol. Fifteen sepoys of the British forces were killed by the stone-traps Many more sepoys sustained fatal injuries. After the dead of the Chief of Longya, Pu Ngulbul Haokip, the strength of the Kukis in this region weakened to a great extent With the belief that the war would come to an end after the arrest of Pu

Ngulkhup, the British forces were desperately after him. The British force burnt Lonpi village Pu Ngulbul being a prominent leader was always accompanied by strong Kuki warriors, which made his arrest very difficult He was a fugitive for five consecutive days. He covered a good distance of over one hundred fifty miles while in hiding. He was ultimately cornered and he had no alternative but to surrender to the British commander at Tamu With the surrender of Pu Ngulkhup, Chief of Lonpi, the war in the Southeastern sector came to a close. Pu Ngulkhup, after his surrender at Tamu was taken back to his sector, in the Southeast Seeing their leader captive of the Sepoys, the people were moved with great sorrow He was later taken to the Imphal jail.

During the journey, they halted for a night on the banks of the Imphal River (Gun dung) where he composed a melancholic song:

Isung sih-al kai noija,

Gu'n peu lum song katang khop,

Joljil soh thei lou

Kangai mel a namule,

Lung ngui pheiphung asontai,

Hinti oh Gu'n twi nu

Free translation

Under the twinkling stars I slept,

By the side of the river;

Using a rock as my pillow,

Which is not like my beloved made.

If you ever meet my beloved,

Tell her that I walked away with a

longing heart,

Oh! Maiden-river.

3. The Burma and Eastern Sector

The series of incidents in the Chassad region of Zale'n-gam from March 1919, originated from the circumstances that resulted from the British refusal to the terms and conditions for an end to fighting, submitted by Pu Pache Haokip. The indiscriminate raids carried out by Pu Pache and his daring warriors of Zale'n-gam on the British provoked them Offended by these acts, a large British force was despatched, enough to vanquish the whole of Chassad area The Kuki warriors retaliated to defend Zale'n-gam, inflicting heavy losses on the British. Of the many battles fought in this front, the most notable were those at Langli, Poshing, Chattik-Khongkhan hills and Makan stockades In thesebattles, many sepoys on both sides were either killed or fatally wounded. It has to be noted that there were some Kuki people who surrendered and sided with the British force, namely, Thongkholun Haokip, Chief of Boljang and Mangleng Vaipher It became exceedingly difficult for the Kukis to make further plans in secret They built a palao (a type of tent) in the vicinity of their villages The people of Phungchong, under the leadership of their Chief Thongkhomang Haokip, burnt these Palaos The Vaipheis composed a song on this account:

Sapkang sat ding Phunchong ten

Vaiphei palao ahal-e

Free translation

The people of Phunchong,

Declared to fight the British,

Instead, they burnt a Vaiphei Palao

Konhol and Konngam attempted to kill the British informer Chungkhojam, from Boljang. But as the man pleaded for mercy, they reframed. For this, Pu Helngam rebuked them. The rest of the chiefs who were loyal to the cause of Zale'n-gam to the very bitter end are as follows:

Pu Thongkhomang Haokip, Chief of Phunchong; Pu Jangkhopao Haokip, Chief of Makan, Pu Chungkhojang, Chief of Molnom, Pu Doujapao Mate, Chief of Thomjang, Pu Jamkholun, Chief of Khongkhan. Pu Chungkholet, Chief of Mollen; Pu Tongkho, Chief of Sangkholen; Pu Vumtong Haokip, Chief of Maokot. Meanwhile, Gen. Keary from the Kendat (Kentat) headquarters pushed the Kukis, and finally merged with the other British forces of the Chassad region. As the British forces were swelling in numbers, Pu Pache and his men retired to the jungles of Somra. He took refuge in Joujang, the territory of his clan brother. Joujang was well garrisoned with fortified walls. It was a strong and powerful chiefdom in the upper

Chindwin region. The village of Joujang was very powerful in the upper Chindwin region. It received kai (tax) from the Somra Nagas. During the times of Pu Tunghao Haokip, the Burmese king offered to recogniseJoujang, but Pu Tunghao Haokip replied that he needed no such recognition from anybody. Instead, he tried to offend them by killing their mithuns, elephants and rhinoceros. The name 'Somra' is derived from the term kai Joujang village exacted roughly som lah (1:10). Thus came Somlah, pronounced 'Somra'.

Pu Tongkhu Haokip, Chief of Phailengjang in Burma, extended Chief Pache help. As a token of this joint endeavour to fight the

British, the former sent a chemcha (knife) and bilba (earring) to the latter. Together, they terrorised all the Burmese villages in upper Chindwin and damaged many government properties. As a result of the chaos unleashed by these two Kuki Chiefs, life in general remained disrupted in the Kabaw valley of Burma. People were terror-stricken at the prospects of a full-scale war. Its inhabitants out of sheer fright deserted a village called Thaungdat. War broke out practically everywhere and the battle fought at Molvailup was said to be most awesome. The Kuki Warriors stationed in this village, fearing impending invasion by the British force, fixed two canons to a tree on the way to their village. Pu Helkholam Kipgen was entrusted to trigger-off the canons on the arrival of British sepoys. He patiently waited for the enemy to appear. As anticipated, after a couple of days the British sepoys appeared at a distance. Pu Helkholam instantly pulled the trigger. The explosion of the gunfire shook the tree and he fell down and remained unconscious for a moment. The shot killed twenty British sepoys, including a junior commission officer. Many more sepoys were badly wounded. As it was necessary to be informed of the enemy's plans and movements, Pu Jangkhothang Kipgen was entrusted with this task. But, the British became aware of this and Pu Jangkhothang was killed. Bongbal villagers, Pu Tongkhogin Kipgen and Pu Onkhogin Kipgen, however, instead of assisting in the defence of Zale'n-gam, went to Homalin and surrendered to the British. As the war continued in Kabaw valley in Zale'n-gam, a combined force of British India and British Burma entered the village of Simol. The Chief of Simol, Pu Hellhun Kipgen and his son were taken hostage. As they were led away, Pi Nengjalhing Kipgen with her infant son, Dongkhosat on her back, without fear followed. She repeatedly pleaded to the British force officer to release them for the sake of her infant child. The officer was deeply moved and amazed at her love and devotion to her husband. The officer therefore showed compassion and released them. Zale'n-gam was progressively under pressure from the British forces from different directions. The Kuki Chiefs

and war commanders, especially those from Upper Chindwin therefore moved into the fortifications of Joujang. The British came to learn of this move The British believed that the Kukis were as good as defeated and that they would now surrender. But the Kuki Chiefs although having suffered much loss of life and property, refused to give up They set up a camp by the bank of the river Chohchol, and waited for the British forces to appear. When they appeared, the Kukis jingled the bells tied around the neck of the mithuns It was meant to be a sign of peace and of submission (similar to raising a white flag) Though the British were deceived on earlier occasions, they suspected no foul play this time. They expected the Kukis to surrender. With that belief, they continued their approach But, as soon as they were near the bank of Chohchol, they were taken by surprise A good number of sepoys, including a white one, were killed immediately. Enraged by this deception, the British now made it their point to storm into the Joujang fortifications to kill and capture as many men as they could Steep slopes surrounded the village of Joujang and its fortified walls on all sides The gate was guarded with a canon and the British force could not penetrate the walls for quite sometime From a distance, the

mountain guns did not prove effective At last they decided to cut their way through by digging up the steep hill As the British force were occupied with this digging, the Kukis sang:

Ma'p gam khomjang te sat din,

Noija hungkon sapkang ten.

Lamlen lamlen alai je

Free translation

The British are constructing a passage and approaching.

To attack the Khomjang fort,

spending a number of days on this task, the British made a path wide enough to cart in bulky weapons and equipment With their huge guns, they moved towards the fortified enclave of Joujang, where the last of the Kuki Chiefs and warriors took refuge The Kukis had also made good use of the waiting time and made more guns, ammunitions, and replenished their gunpowder reserves. The ensuing war lasted several hours There was exchange of fire between the Kuki pumpi and the British Mountain guns. Late Pu Tunghao Haokip, Chief of Joujang recounted, 'It was such a deafening roar' After a great deal of fighting, the fortifications of Joujang began to break down. The women, children and the old people were quickly escorted to safety The Chiefs and Commanders and older men were also moved away The young men remained and put up a brave resistance. When the fortifications were on the brink of collapse, the rest of the Kuki warriors also escaped to safety. The determination of the British forces to capture and kill as many as possible was unsuccessful When they finally stormed into the enclosure, to their amazement, it was empty This fierce battle, in the Joujang stockade, was fought in the beginning of May 1919. It was the last of the significant battles fought in the Kuki rising, 1917-1919.

4. The North Sector (Aisan)

This sector was in the territory of Aisan The people of Mollen and the Haolais fought together heart and soul Kanjang and Akhen in the Meluri areas of present-day Nagaland and Chingai sub-division of Ukhrul district of present-day Manipur were under the authority of the Chief of Aisan. Like those mentioned earlier, this region also put up a brave fight, but was also rather disunited In 'History of Manipur', p 130, late Ex-MLA Pu Ngulkhohao Lhungdim wrote

Pasul and Letkholal Singson joined the side of the British as scouts and in fact led them, in storming the stockades built by the Kuki

Chief Chengjapao Doungel and Laljasong Haolai who were commanders of the war here. When, in time, more Kukis crossed over to the side of the British, secret plans and moves were revealed easily and it became immensely difficult for the Kukis to carry on fighting. After the British war had come to an end, Pasut and Letkholal Singson, both were rewarded at Kohima by J.H. Hutton and were asked what they wanted. The former chose a gun and the latter preferred to have land. But as there was no available land, the village of Haijang, which he asked for, was cleared of its inhabitants and after having it burnt down was handed over to him. Today, Kanjang stands village over the earlier Haijang. But the problem still persists, and it is still known by its former name. On top of that, the people of Haijang were punished with a punitive fine of Rs 6 per year, for three years.

When many Kuki Chiefs had surrendered and when still more were apparently about to follow suit, it became hard for Pu Chengjapao Doungel to continue the war. As head of the Kuki Chiefs, Pu Chengjapao Doungel decided to come to terms with the British. In the anticipation of more lenient terms for himself and his subordinate Chiefs, he purchased a huge elephant tusk from a Kipgen villager in Burma for Rs 300. He had this ivory presented to Mr. Higgins in Imphal headquarter, as a sign of surrender. He requested to the political agent Mr. Higgins: 'As head among the Kuki Chiefs, I request you to pardon me and my brothers from the penalty of waging war, in defence of our country Zale'n-gam.' The political agent Higgins replied that it was not within his authority to pardon. But he assured that he was pleased with what Chief Chengjapao Kuki had done and would reduce the punishment due to him and the others, to a certain extent. At a time when the British forces were preoccupied with the capture of the rest of the Kuki Chiefs, some among those who had already surrendered themselves. These chiefs kept the British continually posted on the movements of the Kukis and made it impossible for them to remain in hiding, or to continue waging war. In such a situation, Pu Khupkhotintong (Tintong) Haokip and Pu

Lmjakhup Kholhou were finally captured with Pu Mangkho-on in the village of Tingkai. With their capture, the Kuki resistance in the western front came to a close. It was already mid-May 1919, but the capture of Pu Pache was yet to be accomplished. Chief Pache being the head of the Haokip Chiefs readily found shelter with anyone of them. A man of strength, courage and skill, he led the British force on a wild goose chase for a long time. But when all of his fellow chiefs and brothers had been captured, he preferred to surrender and join in their suffering. He therefore went to Imphal town just before 20th May 1919 and surrendered to Gen. Keary. With chief Pache's surrender, Gen. H. Keary KCIB, KCIE, DSO declared the end of the Kuki rising 1917-1919 on May 20, 1919. In 'Manipur a Gospel leh Kuki ho Thusim', (An account of the Gospel and the Kukis in Manipur), p.44, Jamthang Haokip wrote:

While the British imprisoned all the Chiefs in the Imphal jail, the Kuki folks from the hills visited them and brought dummom (tobacco leaves) for them to chew. When all the other Chiefs kept their tobacco for themselves, Tintong Haokip Commander-in-Chief, used to distribute his among the other chiefs. The other Chiefs were pleased with Tintong and a ballad was composed in his praise:

Jang a Dumom ngaipet na,

Chan gol soh eh, Laijang pa minthang gol chungnung

Free translation

Whenever tobacco was desired,

Always distributed his share among the others,

Laijang chief, the greatest of the chiefs

Being the Commander-in-Chief of the Kuki rising 1917-1919, people placed much faith on Pu Khupkhotintong (Tintong)

Haokip, Chief of Laijang. He declared at the Jampi Summit, 'whether we win the war or not, we will show our might.' In similar manner, during the war he exhorted the war commanders under him; toured all the Kuki bases in Zale'n-gam; helped the weaker, encouraged the demoralised; and comforted the old people, women folk and the children. As a leader, he worked extremely hard and all were there to see for themselves. Some of those captured before and after the war answered, 'Our leader is Pu Khupkhotintong (Tintong) Haokip and only at his word did we fight'. The Zous who said, 'We are sepoys of Tintong Haokip', were freed from any further incrimination. On account of the statements received, the case of Pu Khupkhotintong (Tintong) Haokip was taken more seriously. He therefore carried most of the blame for the war, and was severely tortured in jail. For his unparalleled devotion and heroism in the protection of Zale'n-gam, the Kukis held Pu Tintong in great esteem. He was their hope and pride. Many a ballad was composed in his praise. The notable ones among those are as follows:

Laijang Tintong bullun mang,

Pupa khan gol seh in lang,

Jalai gol dep min

Free translation

Great leader Tintong of Laijang,

Follow the footsteps of our fathers,

Surpass the multitudes

Jalai gol dep tei in lang,

Singe ha kai golseh douna,

Kai gol lhing tei hen

Free translation

May you be victorious among the multitude,

In your fight against the enemies,

So that our people may live in peace and prosperity.

During the Kuki rising, two strong young men of Maokot, Pu Vumtong Haokip and Pu Thangjang Haokip, stood up to the expectation and hope of the people. The Haosanu (The Chief's wife) of Saihaphoh village composed a ballad in praise of them:

Thim hung jing'e deidon dongkot hong umlou,

Singhison chan deidon dongkot a hong'e,

Deidon dongkot a hong'e toini gel,

Amang tolla jang toni gasa hen.

Free translation

War has broken out, but there is no one to lead,

Sons of Telsing have come forward to

lead the people into battle.

Two Telsing youths lead the people into battle,

Let them shine as bright as the sun in

the courtyard of the British throne.

When the British forces finally arrested Pu Vumtong and Pu Thangjang, they said, 'we only waged war at the instance of our brother Pu Thangkhothong

Haokip, who is the Chief 'Hence, the Chief in question was arrested and imprisoned. But, being blind, detaining him in custody proved more of a problem. He was released shortly The captured Kuki Chiefs, Commanders and other leaders in the war were severely tortured The types of statements they furnished acquitted some, while the others became all the more entangled. The war commanders and Chiefs were detained, awaiting trial

Chapter XV

The Aftermath of the War, 1917-1919

1. The First Trials and Sentence of the Kuki Chiefs and War Commanders

After a brief period of detention, the British force carried on the trials of the Kuki Chiefs and the war commanders In the trials, many claimed to be either

sepoys of Pu Khupkhotintong (Tintong) Haokip or referred to him as their Supreme Commander. These statements added more grounds for the conviction of Pu Tintong He was sentenced to twenty years imprisonment. Soon it began to emerge that Pu Tintong was junior to Pu Pache Haokip, Chief of Chassad (trials were carried on the lines of seniority in the clan lineage) For this reason, Pu Lhukhomang Haokip alias Pache, Chief of Chassad and the senior-most among the Haokip clans - who formed the

biggest fighting units - was subjected to relentless torture. After these tortures, he was sentenced to twenty years of imprisonment. Pu Chengjapao Doungel was also sentenced to twenty years imprisonment. The other Kuki Chiefs and leaders were also subjected to severe punishments and torture.

The prison sentences are as follows:

1. Pu Ngulkhup Haokip, Chief of Mombi (Lonpi), 15 Years
2. Pu Chengjapao Doungel, Chief of Aisan, 15 Years
3. Pu Lhukhomang Haokip, alias Pache, Chief of Chassad, 20 Years
4. Pu Khupkhotintong (Tintong) Haokip, Chief of Laijang, 20 Years
5. Pu Khotinthang Sitlhou, alias Kilkhong, Chief of Jampi, 15 Years
6. Pu Pakang Haokip, Chief of Henglep, 15 Years
7. Pu Enjakhup Kholhou, Chief of Thenjang, 15 Years
8. Pu Heljason Haokip, Chief of Loibol, 15 Years
9. Pu Mangkho-on Haokip, Chief of Tingkai, 15 Years
10. Pu Leothang Haokip, Chief of Goboh, 15 Years
11. Pu Lunkholal Sitlhou, Chief of Chongjang, 15 Years
12. Pu Semchung Haokip, Chief of Ukha, 15 Years

While the prisoners were detained in Imphal Jail, in order to ascertain whether the Kuki Rajah, Pu Chengjapao Doungel of Aisan was the Pipa (head) of the Kukis, the British paraded him enchained in the streets three times a day, for three consecutive days. As he was paraded, he was made to announce these words aloud, "He, who, among the Kukis, is elder to me, let him come and take my place, take these chains off me, suffer in my stead

and be bestowed with the honour that is mine." As no response to such an announcement came, the political Agent, Mr. J.C. Higgins recognised Pu Chengjapao Doungel, as head of the clans among the Kukis. In eastern Zale'n-gam (in present day Burma), the Kuki Chiefs and leaders were detained in Homalin Jail and tortured. As leaders of the war, they were each sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment, at Taunggyi Jail. Their names are as follows:

1. Pu Kamjahen Haokip, Chief of Phailengjang
2. Pu Letkhothang Haokip, Chief of Khotuh
3. Pu Semkholun Haokip, Chief of Phaisat
4. Pu Vumngul Kipgen, Chief of Tujang
5. Pu Haokhopao Kipgen, Chief of Molvailup
6. Pu Tongkholum Haokip, Mantri of Phailongjang
7. Pu Tukih Lupheng, Chief of Tonglang
8. Pu Sonkhopao Haokip, Chief of Twisom
9. Pu Letjahao Chongloi, Chief of Khomunnom
10. Pu Kondem Baite, Chief of Sadih (Sachih)
11. Pu Jalhun Haokip, Chief of Molvom
12. Pu Nohjang Kipgen, Chief of Saisem

While the Chiefs were waiting to be sentenced for their terms at Taunggyi Jail, Pu Kaijahao Kipgen composed an ode to them

Toni bang sa solkar te kitemtoh in.

Phungtin paocheng changsel Lenbang Kaije

Free translation

The British Government has gathered all its forces,

And has waged a great-war against our people;

Carrying away our Chiefs and leaders as mithuns.

After the trials had been completed and sentences passed, those in the Imphal jail were transported to India. On the way, while crossing the bridge at Karong Pu Khupkhotintong (Tintong) Haokip, Chief of Laijang was deeply nostalgic. According to an account by late Ex-MLA Pu Ngulkhohao Lhungdim in, 'History of Manipur', p.138 Tingtong Haokip, the Laijang Chief, one who had never known what melancholy, was filled with nostalgia when they crossed the bridge at Karong on the way to Kohima from Imphal.

At Kohima the British Political agent named Jameson, asked the Kuki Chiefs to reveal the name of their main chief. The Chief of Chassad, Pu Lhukhomang Haokip alias Pache told the Political Agent that the main chief is Pu Chengjapao Doungel, Chief of Aisan. Pu Lhukhomang also answered Jameson's query in the following verse.

U Palhunle Tonglhu la vang'in lan,

Namtin kaina kahui mang dong tan:

Namtin kaina kahui mang dong jongle chun.

Mitin penna Aisante kitinte.

Free translation.

The two old and elderly persons, Palhun and Tonglhu

are now living in a distant place

(Jameson's question could be answered, as per Kuki custom, only by the senior most elder like Palhun and Tonglhu, who were unavailable)

You may even ask the Chief Administrator of all the people (of Kohima)

If you ask him, he would also reply that it is the Chief of Aisan.

Pu Chengjapao Doungel, taking it in a rather personal way replied in the following verse:

Thampi khul a kapen nin luncha hing,

Kachung'a che ah um naovai mo,

Ka chung a che la mi um sampon tin,

Chungtoni le chung chollha bou chente

Free translation

I was great the day I descended from the Mythical World,

Is there anybody walking above me?

Except the sun and the moon, nobody will walk above me

The meaning of Chengjapao's song that only the moon and the sun will walk over him need not be mistaken as conceit. It meant that the Kukis of Zale'n-gam had never been under any authority, other than their own. During the war, Pu Chengjapao Doungel shouldered the headship of the Kuki tribe. Therefore, the severest of tortures and additional years of sentence were meted out to him. From Kohima, the Kuki chiefs were taken to Golaghat in Assam, where they halted briefly. Pu Semchung Haokip, Chief of Ukha before being transported to Golaghat, breathe his last at the Kohima Jail. His mortal remains were, by the order of the Government, brought back to his ancestral home of Ukha village. At Ukha, Pu Semchung was buried in the full customary tradition with honours. Pu Semchung was one of the most well to do among all the hill peoples. He also was one among the leading commanders of the Southern sector in the Kuki rising. While at the Golaghat Jail, Pu Chengjapao Doungel, filled with a sense of yearning for his Zale'n-gam composed the following verses

Golaghat Banglow khom a kingai jing,

Lhangvai sisum chollha bang val nan jong,

Nitin a leng a kavai jong aman poi

Kaina mang saoson noija kingai jing.

Angkoi dei le toidem lha vang ngaijing.

Angkoi dei le toi dam lha vang ngaijing.

Selung thal naobang leng'e kilhim mon

2. The Second Trial of the Kuki Chiefs and War Commanders

In the second trial, the previous terms of sentences passed on the Kuki Chiefs were reduced. The Cellular Jail in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands were used as the 'Convict Colony' The Kuki leaders of Western Zale'n-gam were imprisoned there. Similarly, the Taunggyi Jail in Burma served as a kind of 'Convict colony' The Kuki leaders in Eastern Zale'n-gam were shifted from the Homalin Jail to Taunggyi Jail The Kuki leaders were also imprisoned in Sodia (Sadija) Jail Later, those serving terms in Sadija Jail were shifted to the Cellular Jail in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands After the change in sentences, the terms were as follows:

At the Cellular Jail of Andaman and Nicobar Island

1. Pu Chengjapao Doungel, Chief of Aisan, 4 Years
2. Pu Lhukhomang Haokip, alias Pache, Chief of Chassad, 3 Years
3. Pu Tintong Haokip, Chief of Laiyong (Laijang) 3 Years
4. Pu Enjakhup Kholhou, Chief of Thenjol, 3 Years
5. Pu Khounthang Sitlhou, alias Kilkhong, Chief of Jampi, 3 years
6. Pu Pakang Haokip, Chief of Hinglep (Henglep) 3 years
7. Pu Heljason Haokip, Chief of Loibol, 3 years
8. Pu Mangkho-on Haokip, Chief of Tingkai, 3 years
9. Pu Ngulkhup Haokip, Chief of Mombi (Lonpi), 3 years
10. Pu Leothang Haokip, Chief of Goboh, 3 Years
11. Pu Ngulkhokai Haokip, Chassad 3 years
12. Semchung Haokip, Chief of Ukha 3 years

(i) The terms of imprisonment for the Chiefs in Taunggyi Jail of Burma

1. Pu Kamjadem (Kamjahen Haokip, Chief of Phailengjang I) 3 years
2. Pu (Letkwatang)Letkhothang Haokip, Chief of Khotuh 3 years
3. Pu Semkwalun (Semkholun Haokip, Chief of Phaisat) 3 years
4. Pu Vumnul (Vumngul Kipgen, Chief of Tujang), 3 years
5. Pu Suku (Tukih Lupheng, Chief of Tonglhang) 3 years
6. Pu Haokwapao (Haokhopao Kipgen, Chief of Molvaiup) 3 years
7. Pu Zahlun (Jalhun Haokip, Chief of Molvom) 3 years
8. Pu Tongkwalun (Tongkholun Haokip, Chief of Phailengjang II) 3 years
9. Pu Notzang (Nohjang Kipgen, Chief of Saisem) 3 years
10. Pu Ngulkolun (Ngulkholun) 3 years

(ii) The torture meted out to the Kuki leaders at various jails, following the Kuki rising 1917-1919; remain in the memory of the Kukis The portraits of the Kuki Chiefs who led in the war are displayed at the Queen Victoria Memorial hall, Calcutta, which belonged to the erstwhile British Empire. The same portraits are also kept at the British Museum in the United Kingdom After India gained Independence, the Government in recognition of the

bravery shown by the Kuki heroes and in memory of the war they fought, sanctioned for the construction of the 'Kuki Inn' The Kuki Inn stands today at the heart of Imphal, capital of Manipur State Most recently, on 27 August 1997, a memorial statue of the Kuki King Pu Chenjapao Doungel was erected at Moreh, the heart of Zale'n-gam. This statue was also erected in memory of the Kuki rising, 1917-1919 and the Kuki Chiefs and leaders who fought in the war.

3 The Repression and Sufferings of the Kukis of Zale'n-gam

The Kukis fought for three continuous years in defence of their land Zale'n-gam They fought hard and endured untold sufferings, miseries and repression during and after the war. The punishment meted out to the Chiefs through imprisonment was not the end of the repression In the aftermath of the war, all the guns in Zale'gam were seized, on the charge that they were utilised in the war. Those villages suspected to have been involved were burnt down again. As a consequence, the children, women and the old people suffered untold hardships. The destruction of property was extended to the livestock as well: they were destroyed. The atmosphere had become so grim that neither the barking of dogs nor the crowing of roosters were heard The villages being burnt, the cattle and live stock slaughtered, arms ammunition seized, the children, women and old people were then led to concentration camps at Ningel, Tengnoupal, Bongmol, Mombi (Lonpi), and Nungloa. They were heavily repressed in these camps Children and women were made to suffer the cold nights outside the camps From dawn to dusk they had to dig the drainage (gutters) and were whipped with cane Women were not given time to breastfeed their infants. Many became susceptible and succumbed to many diseases and perished in the concentration camps One of the concentration camps may be quoted from the record of the enemy, a British

This is found in, 'Tour Diary of W.A. Cosgrave, Esq. I.C.S., Political Agent', Manipur for the month of April:

April 14th. Imphal to Ningel and back via Thoubal 42 miles. 8:30 A.M - 4:30 P.M Accompanied by the State Engineer who wished to inspect roads and bridges. I drove out to Captain Montefiore's advanced base in the Western Chassad area Ningel Some 200 Kuki women and children belong to 3 Kuki villages the men of which have been put in Jail by General Officer Commanding Burma have been concentrated here in small huts besides the outpost The General Officer Commander who makes over political charge to me tomorrow had told me that I could do what I liked with these people. I went to Ningel to see if it was necessary to detain them there or if they could be allowed to return to their villages. After discussions with them, I have decided that it is much better to let them go back to their villages where I believe that they will be able to exist all right, especially as I intend selling them out a low rate surplus coolie rice which is no longer required at Ningel as all the Naga Hills coolies have returned to Kohima As the direct road to Yaripok and Ningel was very heavy, I returned to Imphal via Thoubal and the Burma Road Rain is urgently wanted on this side of the valley for cultivation purpose.

Among many concentration camps, the one at Mombi (Lonpi) deserves special mention. This was the base where the British lost their men for the first time. The repression here was said to have been heavier than in any other places People were tied in their loins with long ropes, about two to three feet apart in the formation of a ring. From dawn to dusk they were made to walk on the rugged uphill, with heavy loads on their backs They were paraded in chains and when asked to move quickly, those who stumbled and failed to rise up were crudely dragged on and walked upon These harsh punishments claimed many lives At the end of the day's work, they were not given time to bathe or wash. The food that was provided was meagre in portions Whenever the surviving Kuki elders and the aged relate their sufferings and bitter experiences here, they always get lumps in their throats and are filled with emotion and tears.

This account has been well documented in 'The consultative Committee of Kuki leaders' (1963). An excerpt on p. 28 reads as follows:

The most serious tortures were given to the people of Mombi (Lonpi) village, the Kuki centre of the South. Here a concentration camp was opened at Kuljang, in the vicinity of the present Mombi village. The Kukis kept in this camp were tied together with one another by their loins (the distance of the next being two feet or so) and made to proceed in a long chain. Heavy loads of rice bags were put on their backs and shoulders, and they were then driven in herds as beasts of burden, up the steep hill along the road for about a mile. The process was repeated several times for a stretch right from sunrise to sunset when they were given several lashes on their rear ends. Unable to bear this torture, many Kukis succumbed to the pain. Even to this day Kuki elders who experienced these worst days cannot but hold back bitter tears when they relate the sad tale of those punishments and torture meted out to them.

Before and after the war there were no developed roads in Manipur and Zale'n-gam. The few that were opened for traffic were only cart roads. At the end of the war three sub-divisional headquarters were created. The Kukis built the routes connecting the headquarters with Imphal, entirely on free and forced labour. The total length of the roads measures about 4,700 miles. The tools used to build the roads were very inadequate and crude. One can imagine the amount of labour that would have been required for the completion of such an arduous task. The routes constructed include.

1. Imphal to Tamu Road
2. Imphal to Churachandpur Road
3. Imphal to Laijang (Tamenglong) Road
4. Imphal to Ukhrul Road

A song was composed to reflect the pain and suffering endured by the Kukis:

A thing ding in kuva le lamkhong hin,

A song ding 'in ko'l mang khum lhan val'in,

Ko'l mang khumlhan ko'l kimvel alhang lhan,

Nathim thua lut lou mi abeije.

Cultivation for food products came to a complete halt in the Kuki Hills during the entire three years of the war. When their houses were burnt down and their labour forcibly acquired for the construction of roads, a small number of people could take to the task of cultivation. Famine visited the people and they had to move into the jungles to gather wild foodstuff for their survival. The acute scarcity of food grains continued for a long period after the war.

4. The Effects of the War of 1917-1919, on the Kuki People

The Kuki rising began on 7th March 1917 and ended on 20th March 1919. The war affected different parts of Zale'n-gam in different degrees and magnitude. These effects can be explained under two separate headings, namely, direct and indirect Effects.

Direct effects:

a) The Kuki rising, 1917-1919 claimed many lives including women and children, thereby leaving many orphans, widows and widowers.

b) All the prominent Chiefs were arrested and sent to Sodra and Taunggyi jails where they languished for many years. The absence of such prominent leaders and chiefs created a vacuum in the Kuki leadership. Consequently, it brought

about the downfall of Kuki supremacy and sovereignty in Zale'n-gam

c) Kuki villages were burnt down and all the livestock destroyed for having dared to oppose the colonial power.

d) The sovereignty of the Kuki nation Zale'n-gam was thus destroyed and divided into two. The western part was included within British India and the southern part to British Burma. The western part of the former Zale'n-gam state was divided into three sub-divisions in the present Manipur state. The three sub-divisions came to be known as Ukhrul, from what was formerly Chassad; Tamenglong, from what was formerly Laijang, and Churachandpur, instead of Lamka. Eastern Zale'n-gam came to be known as Tamu and Homalin under the Sagaing Division of Burma.

e) Many innocent Kukis, including women and children were captured and put in various concentration camps. They were subjected to inhuman treatment. They were subjected to forced labour. For example, the innocent Kuki inmates of the concentration camps constructed the roads in Manipur connecting Imphal and Tamu, Ukhrul, Tamenglong and Churachandpur, measuring 4,700 Km in total. They were not paid for their labour.

f) Until the subjugation by the Colonial forces, the Kukis, owners of the land used to collect Re 1 - (Rupee one) as Annual house tax from their Naga subjects. The Naga people carried the Kuki Chieftains on palanquins whenever they were on tour, from one village to another. These rights of the Kukis were taken away along with their land and suzerainty. The British encouraged the Nagas to stop acknowledging Kuki supremacy over them

g) For a Kuki man, possession of a gun symbolises pride, dignity and the ultimate manhood. The mass confiscation of their guns during the war had a devastating effect on their pride and morale.

h) The age-old customary laws and traditions, which formed the very foundation of Kuki administration in their sovereign land, were undermined, resulting in the disintegration of the Kuki nation.

i) There were traditional institutions for learning called Sawm. Sawm was a time-tested institution of the Kuki youth and served as the most effective place of imparting knowledge and skills. Sawm was a kind of dormitory, where young boys lived in separate quarters with the older ones, taking on the role of teaching and guiding. The war brought an end to the traditional process of learning.

j) Since the Kuki loyalty to the British colonial power was not to be voluntarily gained, the British deliberately sidelined and neglected the Kukis in all the developmental activities

Indirect effects:

a) The suspension of all agricultural activities during the war, and the continued raids on villages even after the war, brought about a severe famine all over Zale'n-gam. As a result, the most prosperous Chassad Chief and his family had to subsist on jungle roots called Ha and other types of wild vegetables and herbs. b) The Kukis in concentration camps were kept in unhygienic conditions. As a result, many of them perished with the outbreak of cholera, malaria and small pox.

c) Even after the war ended, the British sepoys continued to raid the main Kuki villages. This resulted in the disintegration of all the big settlements into several smaller, weaker, scattered villages. This legacy, left by British colonial rule, continues today in the form of small Kuki settlements.

d) The loss of sovereignty and fragmentation of big villages resulted in poverty and backwardness of the Kuki people.

e) Under the British Colonial policy of 'Divide and Rule', Kuki Zale'n-gam was divided between the two sovereign countries of India and Burma, where they are treated as landless people with no State of their own.

f) The government of India follows the same policy on the Kukis, as its previous colonial master. Turning a blind eye to the plight of the Kukis who today are victims of the systematic ethnic cleansing propelled by the Tangkhul Naga led Nationalist Socialist Council Nagaland - Isak and Muivah (NSCN -IM). As a result, hundreds of Kuki villages have been burnt down in Manipur and Nagaland, thousands uprooted of Kukis from their hearth and home, where they lived for generations. These people are refugees in their own country.

g) Hundreds of innocent women, children and old people have been killed in the most heinous of ways.

h) Christianity was introduced among the Kukis with the initiative of the manipulative Tangkhul people who wanted to uproot the strong social and organisational base of the Kuki community's culture, customs and traditions.

5. The Reasons for the Defeat of the Kukis

The reasons for the defeat of the Kukis at the hands of the British forces are due to the following.

a) The defeat of Germany in Europe in the First World War; consequently, the Germans could not come to the aid of Kukis as planned.

b) The combined forces of British India and British Burma proved too strong for the Kukis.

c) Since the war was fought on Kuki soil, the plight of the women and children hampered the Kuki warriors from fighting effectively. The British forces had no such preoccupation.

d) The British forces had the advantage of superior weapons and abundant manpower, whereas the Kukis had to rely on country made weapons. Manpower was limited too.

e) The Nagas sided with the colonialist instead of supporting their own Masters and countrymen (the Kukis). They served as informers and guides for the British.

f) The Kukis who had recently been converted to Christianity also sided with the British, against their own brothers.

g) A small number of self-seeking Kukis traitors acted as informers for the British forces, thus, revealing important war plans, etc.

h) The British Forces received uninterrupted supply of rations. The Kukis had to depend solely on the produce of their land. When the war was extended beyond two cropping seasons, the Kukis naturally ran short of food supply. The combination of the above reasons is responsible for the Kukis' defeat. However, against all odds, the Kukis nonetheless fought valiantly for two and a half years and lost the war honourably.

6. The Hardships Faced by the jailed Kuki Chiefs and Leaders

Many Kuki Chiefs were arrested and put at the Sodia Jail, the Cellular Jail of Andaman and Niccobar islands and the Taunggyi Jail (Burma). They were made to languish in the prisons for years. They were thousands of miles away from their homeland and at that time there were no modern modes of transportation and communication. However, telegraph facility was available at Imphal in Manipur, and Homalin in Burma. As most of the people were illiterate letters were not written. The telegraphic facility

was the only mode of communication and was occasionally used. One such communication by the telegraph was a lamentation between Pi Nemjavei and her jailed husband Pu Lhukhomang Haokip alias Pache, Chief of Chassad.

Pi Nemjavei:

Kahui Borosap Koma,

Veigam lekha kathol thot,

Ngaikom thong lhung nam?

Free translations

Country (High official) of Kohima,

My letters to my beloved,

Have they been safely delivered?

Pu Pache.

Ahung, ahung thong lhunge,

Amang lungthim gui khaovin Tongdone.

Yes my beloved, yes,

Your dear messages

Have been wired by telegraph

Pi Nemjavei

Laija chin mang henkol kai,

Achun naovang kap inte,

Mang lung Kihijin

To think of his son in chains,

His dear mother would be in tears.

Won't you have a change of heart?

Pu Pache

Mang lung kiheitah sang in,

Lhang a mangkang sap thim thu,

Choiphal go barg aham e.

Far from having a change of heart,

The mind of the British,

Became stiff as the bow.

Pache addressed this message to the people at home:

Phung gol lai dip dam hih un,

Lha Kakih nileh sitlei cheng,

Janglie ling nante.

Free translation

Don't get disheartened my kinsmen,

The world would tremble,

If they would ever be able to kill me.

After surrendering to the British rulers by offering an elephant tusk, Pu Chengjapao Doungel composed the following ballad

Pupa gamlei toi golleng thei sot tai,

Ka neng ju le gou saiha lutne,

Thimthu homin lhang thing sol khai jing,

Kavanga neng ai don cheng na mongin

Free translation

In the land of my forefathers my brothers are facing hardship

With my elephant tusk and wine I am surrendering to my adversaries.

All my people, who had been drinking wine at my behest, may now live in peace

Pu Chengjangul, Chief of Mollen composed the following ballad, at the time when Pu Chengjapao was taken to Sadiya jail:

Khavang che na chung Pathenin choijin,

Bol na gamlei lai umtong na nemhen,

Phung mang lai sal lhang chimang hung damin,

Dou gam leija va bang pao kit nao te

Free translation

May God guide you,

May all the evil spirits be good to you,

Where ever you would stay.

You are the shining one amongst all the Chiefs.

May you come back healthy and hearty, at the time when we would be

The Rulers of this battle-torn land

After three years, all the Kuki leaders excepting the Kuki Raja, Chengjapao Doungel, was set free from the Cellular Jail and the Taunggyi Jails. The families and Kinsmen were duly informed who turned out in great numbers to welcome them home, both at Homalin and Imphal.

The people composed the following welcome ballad.

Hao cha mang cheng thong lhun nin,

Phaicham setlie kiling e

Kaina mang tolla.

Free translation

The homecoming of the great Chiefs,

Caused the people to tremble with joy,

Over the valleys and the hills.

The great Kuki warriors and Chiefs finally returned home to their beloved people and villages whereupon they were welcomed back with tears of joy.

The following verses were sung to welcome them.

Henkol kaipin thimthu tamlel tavinte.

Keja henkol jangkhen thih hija ham?

Keija henkol jang khen thih hiponte?

Longtui cham chang cheng Khaobalou hinte.

Lorgtui cham chung cheng khao balou hiponte,

Lhang a Mang lung kihei loulai hinte.

Free translation

My fellow prisoners, whose hands were shackled, Would now be free to talk, as they like in their village. My handcuffs! Is it made

of strong steel? No, it is not The ropeway for me to cross the river is not yet laid. The British lord is not yet done with me

Nihei chang bang hungpal lo,

Len lhang kum kho,

Pupa gamlei ma gahno tadinge

Pupa gamlei ma gahno tadinge.

Free translation

Let the days and seasons, Hurry past like an early crop. Let me hasten to the land of my forefathers, Why should I take shelter under some authority?

The absence of the Kuki Chief Pu Chengjapao Doungel, who was kept in Cellular Jail, made the administration of the village very difficult for Pu Chungjangul, the Headman of Haolai.

He thus composed the following verses

Chollha Pibang len lhang a selang soh chun,

Chihmang namin jang lojang athang e

Chihmang namin jang lojang athang e,

Pupa gamlei gujang hinchu teiyin.

Khavang chena chung Pathen in choijin.

Boina gamlei laijin tongna nemheo

Phung lai mang laijin lhang chimang hung damin.

Dougam leija vabang paokit naote

Free translation

Like the great moon shining over the hills,

Your famous name is heard all over the land.

Your famous name is heard all over the land,

Keep up the fight for the land of our forefathers

May your kindly presence be felt again over our abode?

May you be safe and free for the greatness of your tribe,

May we surely meet again, in this war torn land of ours.

Finally, Pu Chengjapao Doungel was set free on completion of his term. The good news spread all over the land and the people turned out in great numbers at Imphal town to welcome him

Overwhelmed with joy, he composed the following ballad

Kache langin jang huivan kamaovin,

Kahung langin pigo nun nei kaij,

Tonglam eidot namtin pibang kimna,

Laija bulve ge bang in Kaneme

Free translation

When I was leaving my country,

I was overwhelmed with sadness.

On my return to my country,

All my people in welcome wave like the bamboo in the grove

All the people were there to welcome me.

In my joy I felt as light as the fluttering feathers of the Vakul (a type of bird).

Overcome with joy, Chengjapao Doungel, Chief of Aisan, managed to forget all the hardships and lonely years in jail. Taken on a palanquin by his people, accompanied by all the heads of other Kuki clan members, he reached Aisan Village to a resounding welcome by his beloved people. On arrival at his village, Pu Chengjapao composed another ballad

Namtin khelin kumkho sothen kalkai jing,

Lalna gamlei muna thonglhung kitne;

Pupa jil sa kalen chom solang ngui sa,

Solna gamleo gamva jing thou kithen.

Free translation

I was imprisoned, unlike the others, for a long time,

I have now come back to my own land

The drums made by my forefathers remained silent so long,

May the joy of life return to the land again,

And may the birds sing once again.

7. The Awards Issued by the British Government to the British Officers and Sepoys:

The following British Gallantry Awards were instituted at the end of the war

1 C.I.E.1

2. O.B.E. 1

3 A.I.D.S.M.S. 14

4. King's Police Medal 1

The British Government also put the following on record

Villages wiped out - 86

Villages Burnt - 120

Villages Wiped out by Kukis themselves - 15

Weapon confiscated (India) - 970

Weapons confiscated (Burma) - 600

The above record does not include the number of weapons deliberately destroyed by fire because it was difficult to transport them across the hilly terrain.The number of weapons captured both in India and Burma is estimated to be over 5,000. The number of weapons belonging to Aisan burnt near Meluri village under a mango tree alone was over 700.

Col. Shakespeare recorded the following casualties of the British forces

(Western Zale'n-gam, Central and Eastern Zale'n-gam)

Number of officers killed in action	11
Number of officers wounded	14
Number of Riflemen killed in action	47
38 Number of Riflemen wounded and died later	84
99 Number of Porters killed in action 7 Not killed	
Number of Porter wounded who died later	393
Not wounded Total:	533 142

The above given figures do not tally with the records of the Kukis based on eye witnessed accounts. In the battle fields the Kukis counted 500 riflemen and 10 officers killed in action. Col. Shakespeare seems to have suppressed the actual numbers for reasons unbeknown to the Kuki people. Col. L.W. Shakespeare

gave ample evidence what transpired after the war. Zale'n-gam was occupied, the Chiefs were jailed and the villagers were used as labour force To quote Shakespeare (1929, p 237), 'The Kukis were now made to open up their country by constructing fair bridle paths through their hills connecting with points in the Manipur and Chindwin valley (Burma), and also connecting with the various posts with each other ' The accounts of Col. Shakespeare clearly testify that the Kukis were a fiercely independent race that was subjected by the mighty colonialist as a result of their victory in the Kuki rising, 1917 - 1919. The British occupied Zale'n-gam after the war. The Kuki areas were known as the hills of Manipur, North Cachar Hills and Karbi Anglong (in present Assam) and Upper Chindwin in present Burma.

The day the Kukis were defeated in 1919, was the saddest in their history. They have not been able to come to terms with it till today. Upon the burning down of his village by British sepoys, Pu Ngulkhup expressed his anger in the following words: 'Tuma kipat nin British ho a dingin Zale'n-gam kakhah tai'. (I declare the Kuki country out of bound for the British from today). The most tragic outcome of the war was a) Zale'n-gam was forcibly occupied, b) it was further divided between India and Burma.

It is the moral obligation of the free nations of the world to determinate the restoration of Zale'n-gam to its rightful Kuki owners'



CHENGJAPAO DOUNGEL
King of Kuki



LHUKHOMAND HAOKIP
alias Pache - Chief - Haokip



KHOTINTHANG SITLHOU
alias KILKHONG Chief of Jampi

Chapter XVI

The Other Kuki Contributors Who Distinguished Themselves in the War

1. Pu Lethao Haokip

Pu Lethao Haokip was Chief of Girihang village. He was an undisputed expert in the skills of making firearms. He made weapons of superior quality. His contribution to the Kuki cause by way of manufacturing guns was tremendous and very much appreciated. When the British Government came to know about his activities, he was arrested and put in Imphal Jail

2. Pu Ngamkhothang Lhungdim

Pu Ngamkhothang Lhungdim was a brave soldier. He commandeered the Southern Sector. Under his leadership, the Kuki Warriors defended the Ukha Fort valiantly until it finally fell. The fort fell to the Sepoys due to their huge numbers and

superior weaponry. He also led the ambush near Moirang where many British sepoys were killed. The survivors fled leaving behind their arms and ammunitions. Unfortunately for the Kukis, during the course of the war, he was made to languish in jail for several years as an under trial.

3. Pu Tong-ngam Doungel

Pu Tong-ngam Doungel was the younger brother of Pu Chengjapao Doungel, head of all the Kuki Tribe and Chief of Aisan Village. He was commander of the Kuki warriors in the Chingcharoi and Kanjang forts. He successfully defended the forts against the British sepoys. He was captured and jailed by the British for a number of years.

4. Pu Laljasong Haolai

Pu Laljasong Haolai was Chief of Haijang and Second in Command to Pu Chengjapao Doungel, the Commander of the Kuki Forces of Northeastern Zone of Zale'n-gam. He later took command of the area when the British arrested Pu Chengjapao. After the war the British Government meted out severe punitive measures by burning down Haijang Village and also confiscating his land and property, to be given away to other people. Furthermore, before being arrested and put in the Imphal Jail, he was forced to pay double the usual land tax for his role in the war.

5. Pu Lenkhokam Chonglor

Pu Lenkhokam Chonglor was a resident of Haflong in North Cachar Hills. He was one of the best-known experts in gun smithy. Pu Khupkhotintong (Tintong) Haokip, Commander in Chief and Pu Enjakhup Kholhou, Deputy Commander in Chief of the Western Sector requisitioned his services. He was a close associate of the two great commanders. The British forces later captured him while they were in pursuit of the two leaders. He was jailed for several years.

6. Pu Langjachin Zou

Pu Langjachin Zou was the Chief of Behieng and Head of the Zou-Kuki Tribe. He was also commander of the southwestern zone comprising of Behieng, Hengtam, Lhite and several other areas in the area. His contributions to the war were immense. He is remembered as one of the great commanders. The fact he was not captured and jailed by the British does not make him any less than those captured. He outsmarted the British and escaped capture by claiming to be a mere soldier of Pu Khupkhotintong (Tintong) Haokip. His modesty and presence of mind to claim the status of an ordinary soldier, in spite of being a great commander of a very big area, was expedient and remarkable.

7. Pu Goulun Manlun

Pu Goulun Manlun was the great Chief of Hengtam. He was a prominent Zou hero of the Kuki Tribe. He was an excellent military strategist. He was commander of the Hengtam area. Pu Tintong, Commander in Chief of the Kuki Forces paid him a visit during the War. The British Forces raided his village twice but failed to cause much damage.

8. Pu Sumkhothong Haokip

Pu Sumkhothong Haokip was Chief of Tottung. He was also Commander of Southeastern Sector. He had the additional responsibility of punishing the pro-British Kuki Chiefs. When he was arrested and questioned as to why he fought the war, his famous reply was: Kagam leiset eilahpeh go sapkang te khatbeh toh-thithading tia gal kasat ahi (I am fighting in the hope that I would not die in vain, but to take with me at least one white aggressor with my death, a white man who is trying to snatch my precious land away). The British were shocked at his honest and straightforward reply, unlike many

others who claimed to fight the war under compulsion. He was released forthwith and treated with honour. He was later appointed as advisor to the British Administration, Manipur. The Maharaja of Manipur presented him Khamenchep sangkhol and Deichou (Royal garments) for his services as commander of the Manipur Forces, assigned to capture wild elephants. In this task, Pu Semthong Haokip, Chief of Songpi, another great Kuki leader, assisted him.

9 Pu Laso Haokip

Pu Laso Haokip was the Chief of Selmei. He served as Commander of the Burma sector, covering Somra area. He killed five British India sepoys and three white sepoys. He was said to have fought the war for ten continuous days without food. Col Shakespeare's reference, in 'History of the Assam Rifles', p. 232, that one British Subedar, Hangspal Limbu, killed 30 Kuki sepoys in Tizu River area, was refuted by the evidence of Pu Laso. Pu Laso said that the victims were not sepoys but women, children and old people who were under his care, and numbered not thirty, but forty.' The Zoro Choro tribesmen of the area are also said to have participated actively in the massacre of the defenceless people. The legendary hero, Laso Haokip is still vividly remembered by Pu Jamkhochung Haokip alias Jampu, an ex-Assam Rifleman. He later became a freedom fighter in the Indian National Army (INA). The 97-year-old ex-INA member gave the following account to the author:

Laso was of medium height, very strong and courageous. He was lion-hearted and had peculiar blue eyes, which seemed to shine brighter in the jungle. He had super-quick reflexes, like that of a wild animal. He refused to be reconciled to the loss of many of his kinsmen at the hands of the enemy. While I was posted at the Assam Rifle Camp at Kanjang Village, he approached me for help in procuring arms and ammunition. I went to Dimapur to

buy gunpowder and lead metal to be used in the manufacture of bullets. Well equipped and well prepared, Laso proceeded to take his revenge by killing and wiping out the whole village of the enemy.

Upon returning to Molheh, Pu Laso sang a victory song:

Kathange, lamsaha, kapang khin khen ne,

Lamlhang kunghul kasatne

Tah chapa!

Kip hison cha keibou kathange,

Mollai lojang kathange,

Natah in nem?

Tah chapa!

Napun la kapu joulou

Napan la kapa joulou

Nangin kei netjo deh ding ham?

Free translation

I am great and victorious, keeping post at the North,

Attacking the Southern enemy.

True son of my father!

Kip Heson's son is victorious,

I am victorious all over,

Do you dare me?

True son of my father!

Your grandfather wouldn't dare mine,

Your father wouldn't dare mine,

Would you dare me?

Pu Laso Haokip was reputed to have killed the maximum number of enemy sepoys His contributions to the war for the Kuki cause will always be well remembered. He escaped capture by the mighty British Forces only due to his skilful ability to dodge the enemy He hid in the most far-flung and inhospitable of terrain outwit the enemy

10. Pu Chungkhojang Haokip

Pu Chungkhojang was a young man of exceptional qualities He was brave, courageous and had great physical strength. The Chassad Chief appointed him as Commander of the Kuki forces of Chassad When the First Kuki War of Independent broke out he served in the Eastern sector of Zale'n-gam. Since he was not one of the Chiefs, after the war, he escaped to the Somra tract and took shelter with Pu Laso Haokip, his cousin.

11 Pu Vungjalen Hangshing

Pu Vungjalen Hangshing was the Chief of Mongken, in Singhat area of present day Churachandpur District in the Southern Sector of Zale'n-gam When war broke out, he mobilised a large number of warriors and fought shoulder to shoulder with the Zou-Kuki Forces After heavy fighting, his village was burnt down by the British Instead of losing heart, he managed to re-group his forces and made Hengtam his fort He continued to fight for Zale'n-gam to the bitter end

12 Pu Thangchung Baite

Pu Thangchung Baite, Chief of Chalson Tengnoupal was a great Kuki warrior His contribution in the Kuki rising, 1917-19, was

immense He is reputed to have shot many British sepoys during the course of the war Besides his war exploits, Pu Thangchung was famed for his marksmanship. He was able to hit any chosen target from a great distance, making it appear an effortless task. He was much respected for his skill among the Kuki people This carries much significance because the gun holds pride of place among Kuki warriors. Therefore, a man who was an expert in the use of the gun was highly regarded Pu Thangchung held this place of honour, which is a tribute to the Baite people, but especially so among the Kuki people.

The occasion of Pu Thangchung shooting the mithun of Pu Ngulkhup at the Lonpi meeting in 1917 is legendary. It is fondly remembered in Kuki history, and is often referred to

13. Pu Goulian Zou

Pu Goulian Zou was a renowned Kuki warrior in the Kuki rising, 1917-1919. He demonstrated his valiance in many parts of Zale'n-gam The ode below shows the great exploits of Pu Goulian

Tui zum zeli dou hung khange,

Tuang lan a ma tan inge

Tuang lam a ma tan inge,

Tui bom a lai luang onge

A sin puang e a lung puange,

Lal lung thung dim in puangne

Lal lu thung dim in puange,

Za lai lawi bang thang inge

14. Pu Mangjathang Zou

Among the Zou Kuki warriors, Pu Mangjathang, like a lion zealously stood his ground to protect his Zale'n-gam. He vehemently declared his intention to safeguard his land at any cost. The ode below vividly reflects the spirit of Pu Mangjathang:

Tui zum mang kang kil bang hung kahng,

Zou ta kual zil bang nung lin pian na.

Ka gam lei hiat phal singe

Pian na kagam lei hia phal sing ka nam,

Tem san sin zele ngal liam vontoi,

Ka lou louh lai e.

15. Pu Paokhomang Haokip

According to Pu Ngulthong Haokip (aged 106), of Khokon village, in present day Sadar hills, Manipur, Pu Paokhomang Haokip was one of the great leaders during The Second Kuki rising, 1942-1945. He led the Kukis to fight the British in many areas of Zale'n-gam. He and his men joined the Indian National Army (INA) to liberate Zale'n-gam from British dominion. He was later captured by the British forces and sentenced to life imprisonment. During his trial, prior to being sent to the Cellular Jail in Andaman and Nicobar Islands to serve his sentence, he composed a song to express his longing for his wife Pi Veijating. He sent word to her through a friend. The translation of the song reads.

When news of my imprisonment,

Reaches my beloved, She would be hurt beyond imagination

Oh, how painful that would be!

During his incarceration at the Cellular Jail, he composed a song of despair concerning the fate of his countrymen who had lost the war against the British. A translated version of the song follows.

Though they have imprisoned me on an island,

Surrounded by the deep blue sea,

My spirit returns to visit Zale'n-gam,

In my dreams, my beloved lands.

The people will remember Pu Paokhomang's

sacrifices for the liberation of Zale'n-gam.

They serve as glorious examples for all true Kuki

patriots and freedom fighters to struggle with a

greater zeal in order to achieve our ultimate aim of

regaining our sovereign Zale'n-gam.

CHAPTER XVII

THE SECOND KUKI RISING (WWII)

The sovereign nation of Zale'n-gam, the land of the Kukis, was lost to the British in the Kuki rising, 1917-1919 It was annexed to the British Empire after the suppression of the Rising. Suspicious that the Kukis would rise up against them, various pre-emptive measures, but repressive policies were vigorously carried out by the colonial Raj By now the colonial presence in the Kuki areas was made real and direct. The Assam Rifles outposts were created in the heartland of the Kuki Rising—Chassad, Longpi (Mombi), Lamka (Churachandpur), Tamenglong, Hengthan, Ukhrul and Nantiram – with a stipulated regular patrolling system in the areas to prevent any anti-colonial activities. However, by far the most devastating policy of the British was the rigorous implementation of its infamous 'divide and rule policy `Immediately after they annexed Zale'n-Gam, the British colonial government divided the Kuki territory into six administrative units or sub-divisions, four in present India and

two in Burma. In India, the sub-divisions of Ukhrul, Tamenglong, Churachandpur, and Sadar were created, and Tamu and Homalin sub-divisions in Burma. Not satisfied with this arrangement, and being in constant fear of another uprising, a well laid out policy was put into place to divide the Kukis in 1936 by drawing an international boundary between British India and Burma in the heart of Zale'n-Gam. This divides the Kuki territory into two equal halves and rendering a devastating blow to their unity. It should be noted that this was the final assault on the unity of the Kukis, which began since the advent of the British colonial power in the region.

The efforts of the colonial power to separate the Kukis did not end here. The British knew that the chief strength of the Kukis lay in their social compactness, closely bonded by their strong emphasis on genealogy jealously guarded by the Kuki chieftainship government. In order to control the Kukis effectively it was the colonial policy to break this social compactness at all cost by bringing claims and dissensions within the community. This came with the publication of William Shaw's *Notes on the Thadou Kukis* by the *Asiatic Researches* (1929). Shaw was himself a colonial administrator (sub-divisional officer) and he was commissioned to write on the Kukis with the objective of bringing dissension. Note that the original project was to be undertaken by experts under JH Hutton from whom it was hijacked. Hutton introduced Shaw's book anyway, but he disagreed with him on many points. As it was pre-mediated, Shaw's work soon impacted Kuki unity in a most fatal manner. His outrageous error was that he relegated all the Kuki clans under the Thadou sub-clan, which asserted 'those of the inferior lineage were all under the wing of the Thadous and so included under that term' (*Op cit*, 1929, 30).

The clans and sub-clans not belonging to the Thadou lineage immediately made their protest against Shaw's work. They made a representation to the *Asiatic Researches* and the Asiatic Society of Bengal to withdraw or correct Shaw's error. However, the

intervention of the government must have compelled the reputed Society to keep the valuable memorandum unattended on their shelves at Calcutta. This crucial protest being deliberately ignored, the divisive policy of the Raj was now deeply entrenched within the Kukis. The beginnings can be traced with the creation of the pro-British Kuki Chief Association in 1935/36 with the tacit support of the colonial administrations. The Association was limited to those few chiefs who were already under the influence of the British. The absence of any political agenda until independence shows that the Association was mainly meant as a bulwark against the hostile Kukis chiefs. The forum served to bring about further dissensions within the Kukis as these pro-British chiefs made the platform a launching pad to legitimise Shaw's error. This resulted in the agnate clan members defining their respective identities. Thus, the colonial government was quite successful in bringing about social fragmentation within the Kuki society, which was briefly stalled during the II World War. This process made its hydra-headed division in 1956 under independent India. This will be discussed later in this chapter.

The annexation of Zale'n-Gam into the British Empire severely denuded the powers of the Kuki Chiefs and brought extreme suffering to the Kuki public. The Kukis were now subjected to intensified colonial presence and exploitation. The policy of preventing further fragmentation of the Kuki villages was now rigorously implemented, curtailing their freedom of movement from place to place in search of fertile land. In addition to *lambus* who became a virtual local potentate by now, there was a hierarchy of colonial officials: the Sub-Divisional Officers, *lam subedars*, *mohorirs*, interpreters, etc. Many odd taxes were now rigorously collected. Other forms of exploitation such as forced labour, extortions, tortures, etc. were rigorously carried out. This situation intensified immediately before the Second World War. The Kukis were 'impressed' for various military projects as forced labour. By the autumn of 1942, the Army employed up to 5000 daily labourers in the hill alone and contractors employed another 6500

Rigorous repairing, widening, and construction of new roads, bridges, and culverts were taken up on a massive scale. The existing tarmac road from Dimapur to Imphal was widened to take two lines of traffic, and the road from Imphal to Pallel was tarmaced. The bridle paths from Pallel to Tamu and down the Khuga valley towards Teddim were also converted into all-weather roads in which motor vehicles could ply. Other bridle paths such as to Ukhrul, Khurasom, Sita, Mombi, and from Bishnupur to Jenbam (the Silchar track) were made passable for jeeps. In the Sadar Sub-division, it was recorded that 3356 labourers were engaged and in Tamenlong Sub-division 31,409. The Kukis were particularly opposed to such forced labour as it was against their prestige to work for other people. Thus the British were successful in bringing down the Kuki image in the sight of the Meitei and Burmese people. By favouring one against the other the British could practically destroy the unity of the various tribes who belong to the same ethnic group.

Under British Rule, the Kukis were subjected to innumerable hardships but they refused to remain suppressed for long. They started making contacts with like-minded leaders from Bengal and Germany. When the Second World War broke out in Europe in 1939, the Kukis took up one cause with the Indian National Army (INA) forces under the leadership of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose to overthrow the British. The coming of INA and Imperial Japanese Army was considered to be a godsend opportunity to overthrow the colonial regime. The Kukis supported the INA and Japanese armies because they knew they would free them from the British. Accompanied by the Kukis the Japanese and INA forces did not face any hurdle in crossing the inhospitable jungle terrain.

The Kuki and Japanese Alliance

The Kukis joined the Japanese forces on the agreed and signed conditions of a formal war pact. In 1943, when the Japanese army

was in the Chindwin valley of Burma, Tongkhothang, Chief of Haokip sub-clan, and son of Pache, one of the leaders of the Kuki Rising of 1917-1919, immediately sent his emissary assuring Kuki support if the Japanese are willing to liberate Zale'n-gam after the war. Tongkhothang and the Japanese counterpart met on two occasions at Koija and Molly camps, respectively on the 5 and 12 November 1943 and concluded the war pact. The Kuki Chiefs and the Japanese officers solemnised the occasion according to Kuki traditional custom of taking vows by *Humha-pe* (swearing by biting a tiger's tooth) and *Suba* (feasting on the heart and liver of a Mithun). Altogether 55 chiefs and 88 others were present at the Koija camp meeting, and a larger participation of 135 chiefs and 30 others at Molly camp. As part of the agreement 400 rifles were placed at the disposal of the Kukis to fight the British. The Kuki fighters were then trained in the use of Japanese weapons. These Kukis fought along with the Japanese and INA forces until they retreated, many Kukis followed them till Rangoon. Several Kukis were also trained for the intelligence services under the Japanese officers. More than fifty Kukis were formally recruited in the Japanese intelligence organisation called *Nishi Kikan* operating in the frontiers region.

Following the ceremony of alliance, the Kuki chiefs decreed that all Kukis must fight along with the INA and Japanese army. They also called upon all the Kukis to leave their official service under the British. The relationship between the Japanese agents and Kukis began before the beginning of WWII. Kuki knowledge of the topography of the region was of great help to the Japanese as well as to the INA. Dressed in Kuki traditional dress, the Japanese officers carried out reconnaissance trips to different parts of Manipur and the Naga Hills. The advance party, in the same dress, constructed roads and bridges at crucial places.

In response to the call of the chiefs, many Kukis, who joined the British Volunteer Force and the Assam Rifles deserted and joined the Japanese or INA camps. Kuki fighters like Pakang Haokip, Jamthang Kuki, Hemkholet Kuki, Somkhai Haokip, and

Chongjadem Haokip, were few of the British V-Force who later deserted and joined the Japanese army. Similarly, several of the Kukis who were in the Assam Rifles such as Vumkhothang Haokip, Mangkhohen Kuki deserted their services under the British and joined the INA-Japanese forces. In the Chin Hill Battalion and the Falam Levies many Kukis also left their office jobs and joined the INA or Japanese camps. ETD Lambert, a Central Intelligence Officer noted that out of 2000 strong Kukis in the said levy, only about 400 pro-Allied Kuki volunteers remained by the middle of 1944. The accounts of seventy-eight Kukis published in the *Freedom Fighters of Manipur- Who's Who* are living testimony of all those who participated in the ensuing campaign. Of these, sixty-three of them actually fought the Allied forces, six were in intelligence agency; seven were interpreters and guides, and two of them were responsible for organising rations. These men were given three to five months training by the Japanese. After the war those arrested were imprisoned for six months to one year.

The Kukis also helped their allies in collecting rations and also served in its labour force, all voluntarily. The Kukis never took money in exchange of rice and other food items from the Japanese and INA soldiers during the campaign. When there was shortage of rations, Kukis went into the jungle and collected roots and other wild vegetables to sustain the Japanese and INA soldiers. They also nursed the dying soldiers who were injured and inflicted with diseases. They took them to the nearest hospitals at Moreh, Tamu and Maymyo. Many of the Kukis especially women, children and aged people sought shelter in Map Gam (unadministered areas), which was under the control of the Japanese, but the able-bodied men remained in the field to continue fighting. It was estimated that more than six thousand Kuki soldiers fought in the ensuing war alongside the INA and Japanese forces.

Prominent leaders of the Kukis

Tongkhothang Haokip, head of Haokip sub-clan and chief of Chassad was the leader of the Kukis during the Japanese war. With the help of Japanese rifles and pistols he organised Japanese V-Forces as local scouts to operate against the Allied forces. He was the main channel for the distribution of guns in the hills of Manipur among the Kukis. He was also the principal figure under which an agreement was signed with the Japanese officers at Chindwin. Chassad, his capital, became headquarter for the Japanese agents even before the invasion. Onkholet (Pakang) Haokip, was the commander-in-chief of the Kuki army. Formerly he was a member of the British V-Force. He provided vital information about the British set up at Somra to the Japanese. He was given the rank of Lieutenant in the STA and made the Liaison Officer in the Somra Tract and in the area North and East of Ukhrul, where the 31 Division of the Japanese army was deployed. After the War he followed the retreating Japanese army and did not return home.

Palet was the leader in Sita area. He planted landmines on the road to Sita village as a result of which some Allied jeeps were destroyed. Seilet provided information about the Tangkhul Co-operation Committee. He was the Second Clerk of the SDO's Office at Ukhrul, but engaged with the 5th Columnist work even before the Japanese invasion. He also campaigned among the Indian soldiers of the Allied forces stationed in the areas to join the INA and Japanese forces. His main role was in mobilising the people, especially among the Tangkhul Nagas. Lamkhothang joined 4th Assam Rifles in 1939, and in early 1944 he deserted and joined INA and Japanese forces at Mawlaik in Burma. He was given the rank of Captain. He was said to have been moving about the Kuki villages, passing off under various names, and was one of the chief Kuki 5th columnists, who left with the Japanese during their retreat. He was arrested in 1946 and confined at Imphal Jail for one and a half year.

Other Kuki leaders who fought in the Great War shoulder to shoulder with the INA and Japanese forces include the following:

Eastern Zale'n-gam (Burma)

1. Pu Pakang Haokip of Phaimol village
2. Pu Khaikholun Haokip of Toljam village
3. Pu Mangkholet Haokip of Phailengjang
4. Pu Vompu Haokip of Phailengjang
5. Pu Limkhojang Haokip of Kotlen
6. Pu Jamlet Haokip of Kotlen
7. Pu Sokhothang Haokip of Tonglhang
8. Pu Pabem Haokip of Phailenjang
9. Pu Onpu Haokip of Phailengjang
10. Pu Lamkhotong Kipgen of Molvom
11. Pu Amjalet Haokip of Molnoi
12. Pu Onkholet Haokip of Molnoi

Western Zale'n-gam (India)

1. Pu Ngamkhotong Haokip of Matijang
2. Pu Thongkhopao Haokip of Maokot
3. Pu Thongkholet Haokip of Maokot
4. Pu Jamkhongam Haokip of Maku
5. Pu Jamkholet Haokip of Na-ang
6. Pu Thongkhongam Haokip of Aisi
7. Pu Somkhai Haokip of Maku
8. Pu Hongjadou Haokip of Chassad
9. Pu Mangkhosei Haokip of Na-ang
10. Pu Mangjangam Haokip of Sakoh

The Kuki INA soldiers who received pension from the government of India are listed below:

	Name	Father's Name	Address
1	Jamthang Haokip	Churachandpur	
2.	Otkhosei Haokip	Lhunlet Haokip	Haokip Veng
3	Haojathang Haokip	Ngamhao Haokip	Bethel
4.	Jamkhochung	Doujang District	Tusam, Ukhrul
5.	Lengkhothang Kuki	Onkhojam District	Chassad, Ukhrul
6.	Semkhohao	Haokip	Semso Haokip Loikhai
7	Helkhopao Guite	Thangkholet Guite	Chingdai Khollen
8.	Ngulkhohem Kuki	Daikhojam Kuki	Gilchingnang
9.	Saht Kuki	Jamlhun	Thingjang
10.	Lunhem Kuki	Mangkhosei	Lakhan Khumnou
11	Jangkholun Kuki	Semkhoon Kuki	Twikong
12.	Achung Kom		Khoirentak
13.	Ampu Kom	Rengba Kom	Khoirentak
14.	Rengba Kom	Arhmen Kom	Khoirentak
15	Nguljalet Haokip	Semso Haokip	Loikhai
16	Vumkhothang Haokip	Kamson Haokip	Lajang
17	Lamkhothang Haokip	Nohhao Haokip	Wajang, Chandel
18	Henjakhup Haokip	Semsa Haokip	K. Mongjang
19	Ngulkholet Haokip		Teiseng

20. Konkhothang Haokip		Dopkon
21 Nguljangam Haokip	Tensum Haokip	Lanchah, Ukhrul
22 Onkhojang Haokip		Dopkon
23. Pumjakam	Nguljakhai	Tontung, Chandel
24 Kamhang Mate	Thangjakham	Khankol
25. Lhunkholet Mate	Hemjangam	Gelmol
26 Jamkholet	Nguljatong	Aihang, Chandel
27. Letlun Chonglol	Imphal	
28. Holkhothang	Jamdou	Loni, Ukhrul
29 Jamkhoson Kuki		Samukhong,Chandel
30. Ngamkhojang		Maokot, Ukhrul
31 Seikhup Kuki	Songkhosem	Ichaigoyang, Saikul
32. Ngamkholun	Shojam	Khonomphai
33 Thangsei Haokip	Paothang Haokip	Molvaiup, Ukhrul
34 Shohol Kuki	Hemngam	Songjang, Chandel
35. Lunkhoson	Ngamso	Tollaibung, Chandel
36. Hemjathang Haokip	Ngulkhothang	Aishi, Ukhrul
37. Mangkholun	Letjathang	Songjang, Chandel
38. Chungtong		Samukon
39. Lunkhojang Khongsai		Gallam
40. Satkam Singson	Jonjathang Singson	Imphal
41 Thangjadong Haokip	Lokhojang Haokip	Lakhan Khuman
42. Nungkhopao	Neishel	Churachandpur
43. Jangchung Haokip		Waikhong
44. Bumkopao Tuboi	Limtong Tuboi	Bunglung
45. Doulam Dimngel		Ichaigojang
46. Mangkhohen Haokip	Mangjapao	Haokip veng

47 Jamsho Haokip	Lethel Haokip	Maokot, Ukhrul
48 Chungkhosei Haokip	Manghol Haokip	Bongjang
49 Ngamkhotong Haokip	Haokhohem Haokip	Lamphei, Tengnoupal
50. S Hemkholet Haokip	Limkhoson Haokip	New Lambulane
51. Jangkhosei Haokip	Songkhokhai Haokip	Chassad Avenue
52 Jamngam Hangsing		Imphal
53 Hemkholet Kuki	Sonhol Kuki	Churachandpur
54. Tongngam Kuki	Sheikhojang	Gojang, Saikul
55. Nehkhothang Haokip	Helchung	Wajang, Chandel
56 Lhukhothang Kuki	Otkhojang	Maokot, Ukhrul
57 Haopao Kuki	Onkhopao	Khaochoubung
58. Lhunkhosat Kuki	Ngamjapao	Kasung, Ukhrul
59. Tolkhothang Haokip	Heldong Haokip	Imphal
60. Tongkholun Haokip	Soankhojang Haokip	New Lambulane
61. Lhunkhosei Haokip	Jamngam Haokip	Songjang
62. Jamkhojang Haokip	Sonkhojang Haokip	Saikul, Sadar Hills
63. Onjathang Touthang	Sojam Touthang	Saikul, Sadar Hills
64. Lungngam Lhungdim		Bongmol Tampak
65. Jangkholet Haokip	Ngul-on Haokip	Chassad, Ukhrul
66. Thongkhongam Haokip	Songkhothang Haokip	Maokot, Ukhrul
67. Thongkhomang Kuki	Daikhojam	Gilchingnang
68. Otkhosei Guite	Thangjalhun	Guite Thingjang
69. Lenghao Mate	Jam-ot Mate	Twisomjang
70. Onkholet Mate	Thangkho-on Mate	Twisomjang
71 Khuppao Kuki	Letjaseh Kuki	Ichaigojang
72 Heikholet Touthan	Chalso Touthang	Denglen
73 Haotung Haokip	Jil-ot Haokip	Chasssad, Ukhrul

74.	Lhunkhojang Haokip	Jamngam Haokip	Pihang, Ukhrul
75.	Chongjangam Haokip	Limkhothang	Haokip Pihang
76.	Thongkhomang Haokip	Chongjathang Haokip	Kultuh, Ukhrul
77	Thongkhomang Haokip		Loou, Ukhrul
78.	Loikhojang Kuki	Heltong	Twidam
79	Lunkhothang Haokip	Letkhojang Haokip	Chassad Avenue
80	Otkhothang Haokip	Nehkhokhai	Haokip Jalenbung
81	Hempao Haokip	Nehkhokhai Haokip	Jalenbung, Ukhrul
82	Jamsei Haokip	Tongkhosei Haokip	Aigijang, Chandel
83	Jamlhun Touthang	Thangkhohem	K.Mollen
84	Tholet Touthang	Limngam Touthang	Saikul, Sadar Hills
85	Thongjam Touthang	Ngamdou Touthang	Khoikai, Ukhrul
86.	Thongkhojang Haokip	Letkhosei haokip	K.Mollen
87.	Jamkhothang Haokip	Somkhojang Haokip	Lhangsom
88	Paokholet Haokip	Somkhojang	Haokip Lhangsom
89	Thangkholet Haokip	Ngulkhohem haokip	Gamnomphai
90	Jamlhun Haokip	Ngulkhohem Haokip	New Lambulane
91	Doujangam Haokip	Ngulkhohem haokip	Happy Valley
92	Hemkhojam Haokip	Thonglhun Haokip	Sapermaina
93	Hemkhosei Haokip	Haokhojam Haokip	Keithelmanbi
94.	Dongkhothong Haokip	Lhusho Haokip	Mongpijang
95.	Otkhothang Kipgen	Seikhojang	Chandmari
96.	Otkhopao	Kipgen Seikhojang	Keithelmanbi
97	Hensei Haokip		Songlung
98	Letkam Haokip		K. Songlung
99	Pakhai Thadou	Helkholun	Haipi, Sadar Hills
100	Letkhopao Haokip		New lambulane

101	Tongngam Touthang	Onthang	Chanmu, Ukhrul
102	Mangkhup Kuki		Matejang
103	Thongkholim		Molnom
104	Letkhothang		Gangpijang
105	Ngulkholet		T Thanglunpa
106	Limkholet Haokip		Langa Koireng
107	Paokholal		Sita, Tengnoupal
108	Hemlhun haokip		Maokot, Ukhrul
109	Thongkhosei Haokip		Bongmol
110	Chunglet		Kingkin
111	Mangkhup	Songkhothang	Matalambulane
112	Thangkholim	Chungkhojam	Matalambulane
113.	Chungkhojam	Semkhothang	K.R Lane
114	Akhup Kom		Saparmaina
115	Shokhup Kipgen		Haokip Veng, Imphal
116	Tinsei Haokip		Gelmol
117	Ngamjathang Touthang	Thanghol	Chassad Avenue
118	Smt. Lunkholhing	Doukhomang	Gamnomphai
119	Smti. Tingkholhai	Hemkhopao	Haokip Veng, Imphal
120.	Haokhongam Haokip	Jamkhokhai	Chassad, Ukhrul
121	Seikhomang Kipgen	Jangkholun	Chassad, Ukhrul
122.	Sonkhomang Touthang	Ot-hao	Chajang
123.	Haokhothang Haokip	Tunkhojam	Thowai
124.	Jangkhopao	Tollam	Imphal
125.	Khupsalam Haokip	Jam-ol	Imphal
126	Toljasei	Jam-ot	Chassad, Ukhrul
127	Jamkhosei Haokip	Pakhai	

128 Haojalam		Tusam, Saikul
129.Letkhosei		Tusam, Saikul
130.Jangkholam		Tusam, saikul
131. Jamkhosei		Gampum
132.Semthong		Gampum
133.Jangkhosei		Changoubung,
134.Semkholet Haokip		Molnom
135 Hemkholun Kuki	Letkhosei	Thungtha
136.Hemkholun Kuki		Kultuh, Ukhrul
137 Palet Haokip		Haokip Veng, Imphal
138 Sailutchung Kom		Khonomphai
139.L.D.Maring Kuki		Imphal
140.Hoihat Kuki		Bongjang
141.Onsei Haokip		Molnom, Tengnoupal
142 Jamvum Haokip		Khengyoi, Chandel
143 Jamkhothang Haokip		Molcham, Chandel
144 Haongai Kuki		Songel
145.Jamthong Lhangum		Lonpi
146.Jamneng Haokip	w/o Holngam	Maokot, Ukhrul
147.Chungkhojam		Marijang, Ukhrul
148. Jamthang Haokip		Churachandpur

At a later stage of the war, while the Japanese and INA forces were engaged in crucial battles, the Burmese people started to side with the Allied Forces. The INA and Japanese forces failed to attract the mass support they had hoped to mobilise once they landed on Indian soil. At this point, the 'Non-violence Movement' under the towering leadership of MK Gandhi, Pandit Nehru and others, was becoming increasingly popular and successful. As a

result, the Japanese occupied Burma became unsafe for people of Indian origin. These people started to leave in great numbers from Kalemyo, Kalewa, Mandalay and Rangoon, travelling mostly on foot. Thus, the roads leading towards Manipur, the only existing route to India were filled with refugees. Thousands died of hunger, thirst and disease. Anecdotally, it is worth mentioning here that the well-known Hindi film actress Helen was one of the refugees. Later, she found fame and fortune in Bombay. The Assam Rifles set up refugee camps at several places, but they were inadequate to meet the demands of such a multitude of helpless humanity. The most heart-rending scene was of babies still suckling their dead mothers lying on the roadside.

The Kukis continued to give their unflinching support to the Japanese forces and a close affinity and affection developed between them. This relationship is immortalised in an immensely popular song:

Theilou Koljang toni lep banna.

Ging deng deng'e Japan lenna huilen kong.

Pego Lhemlhei saigin bang

Mao deng deng'e van thamjol Japan lenna.

Amao deng deng'e Japan lenna mongmo,

Vailou kon sunsot selung hem tante

Atwi theikhong tabang ging deng deng,

Ging deng deng'e Japan lenna huilen konggin

Free translation

Beyond the hills from an unknown land,

Floats the sweet humming sound of Japanese planes.

Like the musical notes of the flute,

Flying high in the blue sky.

The sweet melodic hum of the Japanese planes,

Fill the lone farmer's heart with melancholy.

Like the sweet melody of the water mill,

Floats the sweet humming sound of the Japanese planes.

The sound of the Japanese planes hums in the air.

To quote the Consultative Committee of Kuki Leaders' (the Apex body of the Kuki people) Annual Magazine (1963), this song is so popular among the Kukis that almost all, irrespective of age or sex used to sing or hum it, but particularly the young people. This song was so deeply etched in the hearts of the Kukis that threats of bitter punishment by the British to those who sang the song failed to produce any effect. This may be compared to the popularity of *Bande-mata-ram*, a patriotic song of the nationalist Indians. Though the Japanese failed to liberate Zale'n-gam, this song remains alive and warms the hearts of the Kukis.

Besides the regulars, few selected Kuki men were trained in the Japanese camps for five months in the neighbouring states of Zale'n-gam. On completion of the training, the Kukis performed the traditional presentation ceremony of *Delkop* (headgear) to the Japanese officers. Delkop signifies strong bonding for a common cause. Thereafter, reconnaissance for shorter route to Kohima and Imphal, where they planned to launch the final assault into mainland India began. After a year's preparation in Burma, the Japanese and the INA forces, with active participation of Kukis, marched towards Imphal and Kohima. The passage through Zale'n-gam was smooth and they reached Imphal and later the

outskirts of Kohima. However, the INA and Japanese forces failed to occupy Kohima and Imphal due to the support given to the Allied forces by Nagas and Meiteis.

During the course of the march, two Kuki warriors belonging to the escort party led by Pu Somkhai Haokip and Pu Chongjadem Haokip encountered a British patrol at Jangmol Hills. All of the patrolling party was killed, except for one soldier who escaped to 'Mel Camp'. The soldier reported to HQ the participation of Kukis with the invading Japanese. The same British soldier later shot these two warriors dead while crossing the river between Homalin and Ningthi. They were formally identified later as Kukis from their *Pounmangvom* (Kuki shawl) and *Golong* (tobacco pipe). The official confirmation of Kuki participation with the Japanese led to the arrest and torture of many prominent Kuki leaders.

The three Japanese Divisions with the INA and Kuki forces took the following places:

1. Northern Zale'n-gam: Thamanti, Khotuh,Leijum, Molheh, Kanjang, Jessami and Kohima.
2. Central Zale'n-gam: Tamu, Moreh, Sita, Tengnoupal and Imphal.
3. Southern Zale'n-gam: Falam, Behieng, Singat, Bishenpur, Nambol and Imphal.

The failure of the Japanese led forces against the British could be attributed to the refusal of the Indian sepoys to desert and join the INA, which was under the leadership of Subash Chandra Bose. The onset of the heavy monsoon season and the lack of support of other local tribes also played a major role in hindering the success of the operations. The Government of independent India, however decided to honour the Kuki warriors with the title of 'Freedom Fighter'. The plan of Gen Mutaguchi, Commander of the Japanese forces, to capture Kohima and Imphal, as stated by Maj Gen DK Palit (1984, pp140 -150) is as follows: 'The general

plan of Lieutenant-General Mutaguchi's Fifteenth Japanese Army was to launch a surprise invasion of India with three infantry divisions moving along jungle tracks and self-contained for three weeks`

KUKI'S *JAPAN GAL LA* (SONG OF THE JAPANESE WAR)

The popular feeling vis-a-vis the hopes and aspirations of the Kukis is best illustrated by their songs composed during the war locally known as *Japan Gal La* (song of the Japanese War). They were communicated through the folk memories and songs among the older sections of the population. These songs, which were composed in praise of the Japanese, seem to have a magical effect on the minds of the Kukis. Some of the songs are dedicated solely to the Japanese plane that symbolised the Japanese power. The planes were compared with the Kuki's favourite birds. They tried to reproduce the sound made by the planes with their musical instruments. One such song goes as follows:

Theilou koljang toni lep banna;

Ging deng deng'e Japan lenna huilen kong,

Peogo lhemlhei saigin bang;

Mao deng deng'e vanthamjol Japan lenna;

Amao deng deng'e Japan lenna;

Mongmo vailou kon sunsot selung hemtante.

Atwi theikhong taa bang ging deng deng,

Ging deng deng'e Japan lenna huilen konggin

Free translation

Beyond the realms of Burma valley,

Floats the sweet note of the Japanese plane;

Like the musical notes of the harp,

Japanese planes hummed from the blue sky.

When the Japanese plane floats its sweet notes;

The hearts of depressed farmers will become glad,

Like the sweet melody of the watermill,

The Japanese plane floats its sweet note.

Ami huikong leng cheh nan,

Japan Huikong len gin in namtin khul a lut

Free translation:

Despite many other planes;

Only the sound of the Japanese planes enters the hidden-caves.

Agam thimthu jing nan jong;

Huilen kong chunga lunghem jangvan ahung lenge.

Lunghem ja a nahung len leh,

Tolkum tado lunglha gol tongkai sah na ding,

Japan mangpa tolsonin tolsonin,

Vankikhup noi namtin cha lonlhi longlou umponte

Free translation:

In the darkness of the land;

The Japanese plane comes like the charming bird;

If you come because of my sorrow;

To the ground, to console your disgraced friend;

Mighty Japan! To the ground! To the ground!

Everyone will greet you joyfully

The plane was also compared with the kite and the hora-bill:

Heimei khumlhang cham chungah;

Japan huikong thimu bangin lam deng deng.

Free translation:

Over the Meitei valley;

Japanese planes hover like the dancing kite.

Amin veleh jangpholva ham tinte;

Leng van sanga phol ngou lenglai dung sunne,

Phol ngou lenglai dung sunnin;

Lhajen jenne mangkhum lhan ajonne

Free translation:

People think that it is the hornbill;

Like the white hornbill they hover in the sky;

Flying like the white hornbill;

They descend to the graveyard.

Noija hungkon Japante;

Nahun tolthing sem neme;

Pummei chang dang ijat nin hatjong leh.

Japan Meipum chang sanga hatjo ding umlou.

Hungkon uvo Japante;

Thingmang damnoi sunsot hijang kangah uve

Free translation:

As you come from the South;

Your glory humbles the forest;

Of all the cannons;

No one matches the Japanese*;

Japanese! March on;

We are waiting for you in the deep forest.

With this expectation, they challenged the British forces and made fun of them*

Hungkon uvo Sapkangte.

Nalailo ding Japan sepai kikhou somme

Free translation:

Britishers! March on;

Japanese soldiers are here to kill you.

Japan galhat meltheisa.

Tulai solkar mangkang in thonom

Lungdei gol angkoi ponte.

Free translation

I know about the Japanese bravery;

The British government wants to imitate them;

But it is useless

Jangmol dingpi vummah aume;

Ging deng denge japan lenna huilen kong;

Japan lenna huilen kong ging deng deng,

Phaichung nung gam thimpi jing hen natimo;

Phaichung nung gam thimpi jin sah leu chun;

Vaigam jang manochal nange natimo;

Vaigam jang manochal ding kinem hih vo;

Sung gil kel leh lai-um bei a na dong nem diu,

Sung gil kel le lai-um keu hilou ding;

India vaichan tuibang ting ding kihan lo'e.

Free translation.

From the horizon of Jangmol range;

Floats the sweet note of the Japanese plane;

Japanese plane floats its sweet note;

Are you planning to bring darkness to the Imphal valley?

When you bring darkness in the valley;

Are you expecting to run over the Indian plain?

Do not hope to conquer the Indian plain;

You will die of hunger and thirst;

Not only with hunger and thirst;

The Indians vowed to stop you like the water dam.

Japan selang asoleh,

Kuan hiho sapmangpa;

Kikhulsino setleijah

Free translation.

Because of Japanese defeat;

Do not hold high yourselves, O Britishers!

Dig your own grave, too

Sanga ttida ding ham, Noija hungkon Japan sapmang pan ban lenpuh suija

Translation:

There is no wonder if the poor Kukis starve even the mighty Japanese begged for food.

This way the Kukis expressed their view and perhaps these songs are most representative of their inner feeling.

Namtin sitlei 'lelminthang' Japan te

London MANGKAAG goulchung choun

Doulai Kulpi Lotaang natim

Doulaai Jangmaan naotang natim

Koum lo taaang natim SINGAPUL tol [Singapore city]

Shaw's error regarding Thadou and its impact on the Kuki people

A major assault on the unity of the Kukis occurred when the Government of India recognised the claims of some clans, who resented Shaw's infamous remark 'under the wing of Thadou' This resulted in the introduction of the Constitution Scheduled

Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modification) Order, 1956, which recognised the Kuki clans into separate tribes. Formerly, by the 1951 Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) (Part C States) Order, the clans were grouped under 'Any Kuki Tribe'. By the efforts of many conscientious Kukis who wanted to restore unity among the Kukis, in 2003 'Any Kuki Tribes' was reintroduced by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act, 2002, No 10 of 2003. Now, any Kuki, who is resentful of Shaw's error, as well as those elder than Thadou in the lineage can receive a tribe certificate under 'Any Kuki Tribes'. Formerly, they were forced to apply for a certificate under Thadou tribe or in some other agnate tribe's name if their particular clan was not included in the tribes list. Besides, with the re-introduction of 'Any Kuki Tribes', not only is the existence of the Kukis re-established, it also legitimizes the use of Kuki by the various armed organisations.

As emphasised at the beginning of this paragraph, the anomalistic situation created by Thadou has been responsible for the disintegration of Kuki community. It is hard to comprehend that in this day and age there still exist people who want to deliberately perpetrate that anomaly. It is also incomprehensible that while Doungel exist, who is the elder in the lineage, Thadou should have contested that position in the first place! 'The Shitlhou Chief, who contested the headship recently, used himself to pay *Shathung*' to Chengjapao [Doungel] till 1918, and on taking his case into court in Manipur in 1928 had his claim to priority laughed out of court (Shaw, *ibid*, ft note 2, 30) ' Were the Doungel line really extinct, Thomlhun, Haolai and Dimngel exist to continue the lineage and even after them also there are Haokip and Kipgen who has to continue the lineage. Thadou has no legitimacy in any respect to claim seniority in the lineage. The disastrous effects of this irregularity committed by Thadou are not confined to the particular lineage and those who share the same dialect. By virtue of this group being the most populous among the ethnic group in Manipur, disunity within itself has failed to promote Kuki unity.

Consequently, misery and pain have beset the Kukis, socially and politically.

Kuki people have a highly sophisticated social system characterised by longstanding sets of customs and tradition. For example, in Kuki custom the right of inheritance belongs to the eldest, not the youngest. Therefore, Doungel's position of the eldest in the lineage cannot be Thadou's. Thadou, motivated by short-sighted clannish tendencies, usurped that position. Alarmingly, despite the pathetic state of affairs resulting from the anomaly, in certain quarters, continued assertion and desire to perpetuate Thadou persists.

Notwithstanding our dire experiences in recent years, a new dawn is upon the Kuki people. A reversal of trends has begun: the myopic outlook that dominated our people's identity that bred clannishness and disunity is being replaced by maturity and a pervading positive sense of nationalism. This is particularly perceptible among the younger Kuki generation with proper education and exposure. A heart-warming trend is also emerging among the *old school* category of ethnic Kukis, who realise the futility of perpetuating clan-based identities. This category, which dominated the mindset of about two-three generation of the ethnic group are beginning to see the wisdom of admitting that discords owing to clan-based identities, which are detrimental to our people, will persist if they continue to resist change. In other words, there is growing consciousness and realisation across the spectrum of our community that building upon unity by sacrificing obsessions pertaining to sectarian clan-based identities and promoting a *national* Kuki identity, which is historically legitimate, is the way forward.

A few socio-political factors that can be attributed for this development among Kukis are education, intellectual honesty, exposure, and an acute sense of political consciousness amid increasingly pressing circumstances. The future of the Kuki people is in the hands of a generation who possess these qualities.

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CHAPTER - XVIII

THE KUKI TRAGEDY

The present conditions in which the Kukis are found is a poor reminder of a people who played significant roles at various turns and points of history. A people whose past had been a story of great kings, chiefs, warlords, of heroic struggle and selfless sacrifice are today a degraded people Denied of the place they deserved, their very existence has, in recent times been threatened. Some vested interests have even been prompted to project and label the Kukis as nomads, a people with no history This is a sad irony and a misleading projection and is a manifestation of the unfair deal they are subjected to The erstwhile country of Kuki Zale'n-gam, as indicated earlier, remains identifiable through historical remnants, and through various sites and markings The British by the Treaty of 1834 handed over a huge part of the Kuki country to Burma with the sole object of appeasing the Ava (Burma) king. The Kukis had never trusted the British and

therefore resisted their advance into the Chittagong Hills and Lower Assam during 1840s to1860s. However the Kukis could not withstand the colonial might and were gradually pushed back into the eastern interiors. For the British too, the Kukis always posed a major impediment to their imperial designs. Therefore with the aim of weakening them further a boundary commission was instituted by the then officiating Political Officer of Chin Hills, B.S. Carey, in 1894, to demarcate the boundary between Manipur and Burma, while completely ignoring the existence of Zale'n-gam in between. The demarcation, which came into effect in1898, drew the boundary down the middle of Kuki country leaving its severed parts under separate administrations.

Two years after the end of the Great War, a new era dawned for the people under the British Empire. But for the Kukis it turned out to be the beginning of problems, not to mention the repression and miseries they already suffered in the hands of the British. Administrative units of the previous colonial regime became the edifices upon which the new order was built. Thus, when boundaries of administrative districts were, with slight or no modifications, converted into state boundaries, the Kukis were left behind, un represented. The boundary lines pierced right through the heart of the Kuki country throwing her people into entirely different polities. To make matters worse a succession of half-hearted and short-sighted policies and regulations such as the Manipur Hills peoples (Administration) Regulation 1947, Special Provisions under the (Indian) Constitution (Art 371C, by Twenty-seventh Amendment Act 1971), Tribe Recognition 1956 have been enacted upon them. These policies and regulations have only generated more evil than good for the Kukis.

2. The Atrocities Committed by the National Socialist Council of Nagaland – Isak & Muivah (NSCN-IM):

The National Socialist Council of Nagaland – Isaac & Muivah (NSCN-IM), dominated by the Manipuri Nagas has hijacked the polities of Nagaland to Manipur. This has been done to satiate

the despicable hatred that the Tangkhul Nagas of Ukhrul District has against the Kuki people. The 'Isaac & Muivah' leadership has also exploited the Zaliengrong Nagas of Tamenglong District to turn against the Kukis. The outcome of this has been the loss of life and property of many innocent Kuki people, mainly women, children and the aged. Thousands of Kukis are now refugees because their land has been taken over by the Nagas. The consequence of the 'Isaac & Muivah' activities has not only affected the Kukis; it has also jeopardised the Naga movement. The noble movement initiated by A.Z. Phizo has been communalised, with disastrous consequences upon both the Kukis and Nagas. However, as a result of the NSCN-IM's shortsightedness, in more recent times, the history of the Kuki people has particularly entered one of its darkest phases.

In 1992 the NSCN (IM), embarked upon a campaign of ethnic cleansing against defenceless Kuki villagers. This process has its origins in the 1950s. Tax has been imposed on Kukis, and the muzzle of the gun silenced any dissenting voice. The victims have mostly been influential Kuki Chiefs and leaders. They have been tactfully picked to instil fear in the minds of the Kuki people. The saddest part of the story, however, is that the Kukis are being taxed on their own land, by people they had sympathetically accommodated. They were accommodated and protected on humanitrian grounds in order to preserve them from extinguishing one another in intra-tribe warfare. Zale'n-gam is the land the Kukis ruled in complete freedom, the land for which they had fought the British, and the very land whose fruits they had freely enjoyed through the ages.

There is an irony in all this. The Manipur Nagas seek to drive the Kukis out of their land by using force. This is done in a manner that is most primitive and abominable. Savagery and inhuman brutality is the hallmark of their operation. These are the same people who under the notorious banner of NSCN-IM (a synonym for inhuman and primitive savagery) cry out against human rights violations by the Indian Army. They have fuelled their 'Nagaland

for Christ' struggle with the mercy and sympathy they managed to garner from the international community in the name of human rights. These are the people who were subjects of the Kukis, they had been paying tax and tributes to the Kuki Chiefs. The world needs to know, and without any shadow of a doubt, that the NSCN (IM) is that body which would take refuge in Human Rights when the Indian Army are out to discipline them. However, they conveniently forget all about human rights when they butcher, rape and slaughter Kuki women, children and innocent villagers.

The Kuki National Organisation rejoinder to Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland-

Isak & Muivah

'KUKI AND THE NAGA PUBLIC CLASHES'

By PS Haokip

President, Kuki National Organisation

The Kuki National Organisation (KNO) is pained to respond to the National Socialist Council of Nagaland Isak & Muivah's (NSCN-IM) article 'KUKI AND THE NAGA PUBLIC CLASHES', posted on the website

A ceasefire was signed between the Government of India and NSCN-IM in 1997. Adopting a paternalistic position the Government have since engaged in dialogue with the NSCN-IM. In spite of the extreme atrocities committed on innumerable innocent Kuki public, particularly between 1992-1997, the KNO, through its armed wing, the Kuki National Army (KNA), agreed to a ceasefire with the Tangkhul dominated NSCN-IM in 2002. This was done a) to demonstrate Kuki does not begrudge Naga gaining its due as a result of the talks with GOI, and b) in anticipation that Naga would honourably reciprocate where Kuki issues are concerned. Unfortunately, such confidence has been

betrayed by Isak & Muivah's article 'KUKI AND THE NAGA PUBLIC CLASHES'. Rather than reciprocate to Kuki overtures, Muivah disgracefully continues to engage in activities that are negative.

KNO is therefore compelled to respond to NSCN-IM's diatribe with certain clarifications so that mutual trust may be the mainstay of Naga and Kuki relationship. (Please note that historical relationships among Kuki, Angami, Kabui and Zeliang have been cordial.)

1. In the article 'KUKI AND THE NAGA PUBLIC CLASHES' Isak and Muivah have brazenly tried to deny the role of NSCN-IM in the genocide against Kuki. This is the main purpose of their article, besides wanting to malign the Kuki people and airing their general views and grievances against GOI. They have also tried to portray the relationship that turned violent between the two communities in 1990s as 'clashes', which is a complete misnomer. The motive for this description appears to be intended to involve all Nagas against Kuki. It must be noted that it is mainly the Tangkhul-led NSCN-IM that are responsible for aggressions against the Kukis; most of the Naga people have good relationships with Kukis, which goes back to ancient days. In other words, it is essentially the Manipur Nagas, organized as Naga Limguards (volunteers), who were led by NSCN-IM that have been hostile to Kuki, not Nagas of Nagaland.

The Kuki people did not start any 'clashes'. Since the 1950s the Tangkhuls have been engaged in a process of ethnic cleansing of Kukis. Unable to bear the sustained killing of their people, the Kukis started to fight back in the 1990s. The media has popularly used 'ethnic conflict', an equally incorrect term like 'clashes', to describe the turmoil in the two communities' relationship. It must be noted that Kuki only acted in self-defence against the atrocities committed by NSCN-IM. There is no 'ethnic conflict' or 'clashes' between the two communities, there is only aggression by NSCN-IM, and defence by Kuki. The proof of this lies in the fact that as

soon as NSCN-IM and GOI singed a ceasefire in 1997, the Kukis stopped fighting back

3.Between 1950-1990, Tangkhuls carried out a selective and systematic elimination of Kuki chiefs and elders. This was done to implant a fear psychosis among Kukis so that they may leave their lands for Tangkhuls to occupy. In total 42 people were killed, and 64 Kuki villages were also uprooted (see APPENDIX I); the land is now occupied by Tangkhuls. The NSCN-IM-led Nagas of Manipur intensified the ethnic cleansing of Kukis from 1992. By 1997 Kuki casualties totaled over nine hundred people dead (see APPENDIX II), three hundred and fifty villages uprooted, and more than fifty thousand Kuki population displaced.

4. Ceasefire initiatives under Committee on Restoration of Normalcy (CRN) between Kuki Innpi and United Naga Council:

Several meetings under Committee on Restoration of Normalcy (CRN) were held to discuss ceasefire between Kuki Innpi and United Naga Council. On all of these occasions, despite the gruesome killings of Kukis led by NSCN-IM, the Kukis agreed to have a ceasefire with Nagas. The Naga contingent, however, were unwilling to commit themselves because, as they put it, 'Muivah does not want peace with the Kukis. Therefore, we are scarred to agree to sign a ceasefire with Kukis.' The extent of Muivah's intentions became apparent following a meeting held at Manipur Baptist Council on 8 October 1994; soon after this session, Pu Lalkhohen Thangeo, vice-president of Kuki Innpi, who was on his way home to Kangpokpi was abducted while boarding a bus at the station at Dewlahland by NSCN-IM. He was treacherously beheaded. A few days later Pu Lalkhohen's truncated body, stuffed in a gunnysack, was found in a pond. There ended the initiatives for ceasefire between Naga and Kuki. The failure of the ceasefire talks is clear evidence of the fact that NSCN-IM was behind the genocide of Kukis. Muivah cannot deny NSCN-IM's involvement in the atrocities committed on

Kuki. The fact that he does in spite of all the evidence pointing against him, suggests that he is a pathological liar.

Committed to the cause of our people's movement to integrate both Kuki and Mizo ethnic group, Pu Lalkhohen Thangeo served as a Senator in the Mizo National Front (MNF) from the 1960s. Mamang, following in his father's footstep, is also dedicated to work for his people. This deeply embedded sentiment is reflected in compositions in which he laments his father's death.

A LIVING MARTYR

Palms creased with work, pelf
Lived he in Jerry-built,
Unwilling to accept for self,
Yet, God forsook not him a bit,
And bestowed him the daily lot

He could tell a jest with sobriety
Within and without a peace-lover entirety
Laboured he long thirty-six years;
Upshot of sweat, toil and tears,
Say, could he ever be frivolous?

In the pleasant month of October,
Nineteen Ninety-Four we remember;
Like a waif, took him, with murderous grin,
A treat unthinkable for a member of CRN

Brutal! Chopped they his head,
Spread his limbs sliced to shreds,
Home he came all in pieces,
Cold and dead; a human species,
Head of the KIM and malice towards none

Cruelty, not among his fates,
Decided otherwise by twist of fates
However far the 'place' Unknown Organization
Still the sacred 'Soil' be known,
'Fear God, not gods', he states

TAIKHO AVAL

(In a Kuki dialect)

Nazalna khulsin a kon thou in
Navanchoi cheng kana lhemding
Lunglai anai HEPA tiding
Vangkholai a kavaimo zeh in

CH' Tonin mol alep in nahung pon
Bu-al alamloi in zong nahung poi
Kajo samang kuzal nadin
Lhaolha behin neihung villin
Gancha vahmang apun ahollen

Kaza ngai nakhulsin chanhi
Navanchoi lonlhi kahul dem
Khenkhat din kipana hizongle

Chung Pathen phatsah ahivangin
Toni kalhum taikho kaval
Vadam laini ngaina in
Tongdon theilou haibang nalo tai

GONE WITHOUT AN ADIEU

Without adieu my father was 'gone'
No clairvoyant 'pon Calamity Jane done,
A wet blanket his life curtness,
Ere my days wert always happiness

He wasn't the knight guest but of daft
On the two nights of chill and waft,
Dipped they him in icy-water then
Famed with blowlamp shivered when

Not bravery, the style cowardice tramp,
Waved a sharp-edge in body, then damp,
Made him topsy-turvy - they did all,
With sniggering names they call'd.

Beheaded him, yes, not for nought.

For, him a fang for the foe in aught.

His carrion body in an old meat found,

Fetid, but valued than diamond or pound.

Sure, I can say, he knew atom to object

Or word perfect in each subject;

Lovesome and judicious wording,

Which his people hanker to harkening.

Its muse fury me, but I won't riot

Or heaven I'll be honoured the idiot;

So, good is to yodel a doleful strain;

A woe-minstrel in sunshine and pouring rain.

- Mamang Thangeo

A brief biographical detail of Lalkhohen Thangeo (1929-1994)

General, Kuki National Volunteer (1958-1959): KNV was the first political body formed for the purpose of re-uniting all Kukis residing in the Indian Union and its adjoining areas. The organisation was launched on 20 October 1958 at a public meeting in Kumbipukhri, which was attended by more than 10,000 people.

Senator, Mizo National Front (1964- 1968) and signatory of Mizoram independence in 1986. Imprisoned as political prisoner for about two years.

President, Kuki National Assembly (1974): Founding member of KNA in 1958, Motbung, Sadar Hills. Constitution of KNA adopted in 1964.

Proponent of the first state level celebration of Kut. First celebration of state level Kut on 1 November 1979 at Kethelmanbi. From 1979 - 1994, he trained the Kanpokpi Youth Club the theme song Mim Kut Taote, Zoumin Kut Taote.

Founder and president of Kuki Inpi (Kuki Parliament), June 1988-1989

President, Khongsai Union, 1989

Member among the seven reorganisation of Kuki Inpi into Sadar Hills Kuki Inpi on 30 November 1992 with a view to deal with United Naga Council's Quit Notice served to Kuki people 22 October 1992.

Vice president of reorganised Kuki Inpi (1993-1994). Represented Kuki National Organisation to sign the Kevichusa Peace Treaty with United Naga Council on 29 June 1993.

Co-Chairman of Committee for Restoration of Normalcy (CRN) comprising members of Kuki Inpi Manipur and United Naga Council. - TK Khongsai

5. There is a notable distinction between the late AZ Phizo and Muivah's political philosophy: AZ Phizo, president of Naga National Council (NNC), did not communalise Naga nationalism, in contrast, Muivah did. This is evident in the fact that there was never any organized offensive towards Kuki during Phizo's time. pogroms against Kuki started only after the NSCN-IM faction was created.

6. To achieve a successful pogrom against Kuki, Muivah first of all incited Naga public sentiment. He succeeded in doing this, for example, by fabricating videotape recordings depicting Kukis killing Nagas in the past. The videotapes were circulated widely

for viewing among Nagas. Thereafter, Muivah was able to divert the attention of Nagas and hijack Naga politics to carry out a personally charged vendetta on Kuki. The severe atrocity committed on Kuki could not have been possible otherwise. If the aggressions were carried out by Naga village folk alone, the Kuki casualty would be much less.

7. It is preposterous that Muivah should attempt to dissociate himself for the crimes committed on Kuki people. Thus, in fact, is the focal point of Isak & Muivah's article. It is astonishing that Muivah has managed to rope in Isak in carrying out his malicious activities. The well-oiled NSCN-IM propaganda machinery cannot hope to continue to deceive the public. The Zeliangrong Nagas, with whom Kukis always had good relations, have also realized that Muivah exploited them for his ambition to establish a Tangkhul dominated Naga politics. Curiously, among the Naga casualty there are very few Tangkhuls, most are Old Kukis in Chandel, who are under pressure from NSCN-IM identified as Naga, and Kabuis in Tamenglong district. At the height of tensions between Naga and Kuki, it was relatively peaceful in Ukhrul. The violence was concentrated in Chandel, Senapati and Tamenglong districts. This reveals the extent of Muivah-Tangkhul slyness. Muivah's track record, which is fraught with crimes he has committed over the years, is meticulously maintained by a host of NGOs concerned about justice and human rights issues. Muivah should not be so deluded to think that he will be allowed to go scot-free, ever.

8.A dichotomy of views among Naga leaderships became palpable after the Shillong Accord of 1975, particularly when Muivah eliminated pro-Phizo NNC members in large numbers. Muivah also killed Rev Longri Ao, who was designated by the Nagaland Baptist Church Council (NBCC) to work for reconciliation among the Naga factions. After committing such a sacrilegious crime Muivah fled to Burma. One hundred Naga warriors, consisting

mainly of Chakesangs and Angamis, pursued him, but the NSCN-IM cadre eliminated them all.

9. On 14 August 1992, the NNC leaders were celebrating Nagaland Independence Day at Athibung. Rhuphrielie, H Ajang Kuki, Dzusoto Angami, Roklosielie, Neizolie, Rhurhrielie, T Moa Ao, Medo-u, Pfushealea, Vizosei Chakesang, Mekhrie Lheukhon Mao, S Joseph were present on the occasion. All of these NNC members were massacred in cold blood by NSCN-IM. Dally Mongro General Secretary of NSCN (K), Lt General Lemchu, Zhekhovi, James Trakha Pochury, Asang Snock Pochury, General Puvezo Chakesang, Tobu Kevichusa, Chale Kevichusa are some of the other prominent Naga leaders who were killed by NSCN-IM.

10.In Burma, altercations with Khaplang resulted in the death of a multitude of committed Naga nationalists, all killed by Muivah's men. At this juncture, fearing severe Naga retribution, Muivah schemed a diversion: he initiated an anti-Kuki drive for which there was considerable sympathy in Nagaland among Isak's followers. Details of some of the more serious acts of NSCN-IM aggression perpetrated on Kukis are as follows:

Uniformed NSCN-IM cadres armed with sophisticated weapons, such as AK47, were deployed on several occasions to lead the Naga Limguard against vulnerable Kuki village people. One major incident is the Zoupi massacre, which took place on 13 September 1993, in Tamenglong District of Manipur. The incident is marked as 'The Black Day' for Kukis. The British Broadcasting Corporation reported on the gruesome event.

The Zoupi massacre of 13 September 1993

The Nagas issued a notice to the people of Zoupi to quit the village by 15 September. Aware that the NSCN-IM was behind the quit notice, the Kuki people of Zoupi did not wait until the 15 September deadline, they left on 13 September. However, they were intercepted en route the same day. Altogether 90 Kuki men were separated from their families. Hands bound to their backs,

they were mercilessly hacked to death with machetes Had it been a case of just Naga village people involved in the intereception the ninety Kuki men would have put up a struggle. There was no trace of any resistance. The scale of violence demonstrates the extent of influence Muivah wielded among the Nagas of Tamenglong It beggars belief that Muivah should try to deny his involvement in the incident and have the gall to refer to it as 'the unfortunate Zoupi incident of 14th September 1993'! Yambem Laba of Manipur Human Rights remarked that the Naga cry against human rights abuse perpetrated by the Indian army for over fifty years was completely overshadowed by one incident of Naga atrocity against the Kukis of Zoupi village on 13 September 1993 This is a statement, which reflects accurately the degree of violation committed in this incident by the NSCN-IM

A dirge in a Kuki vernacular recounts the tragic incident

Phunggol golang adamlouleh adamlouleh

Lhanghui phai thi golgin

Vuijin hin hol lu vo

Zoupi golchang pheiphung son tonglam ana

Thonglhung lou va hoija vajang

Tham den taimo

Hoija vajang tham den taimo

Nungsul del ding Nampi gollhang

Gam vang lha e

(By Pu L Hempaol

With regard to Muivah's claim on 'the issue of "Quit Naga" order in Moreh on 30th May, 1992 by KNA', the facts are as follows In 1992, on 12 May, Holkhojang Haokip, 1st May

Lhunkhothang, 26 May, Tongkholun were killed by NSCN-IM near Moreh in Chandel district On 3 June 1992, Onkholet Haokip, a schoolteacher and social worker, was also killed by the NSCN-IM Onkholet Haokip was forced by NSCN-IM to reveal the KNA camps All of these killings took place in the heart of Kuki land This is where NSCN-IM had the effrontery to demand tax from Kuki villages. Members of the Tangkhul community at Moreh were found to clandestinely engage in providing information to NSCN-IM They also supplied ammunitions to NSCN-IM cadres, and served as collectors of 'Tax' from Kukis, etc The Kukis did not want to harass the Tangkhul public, but such arrogant activities were intolerable. Therefore, the KNA served them quit notice to leave Moreh As mentioned by Shimray, Luithui and Bose (1994), 'On July 13, 1992 mass exodus of Naga civilians started from Moreh area.' Please note, the quit notice date served by KNA is 30 May, the 'mass exodus' of Tangkhuls took place on 13 July This is in stark contrast to what happened at Zoupi where 15 September was the quit notice deadline, and in spite of the Kuki village people leaving on 13 September, they were still massacred en route. Why is it that those Tangkhuls and the Nagas of Manipur led by Muivah always such a barbaric group? Do they not know that honour is a virtue especially at the worst of times?

Atrocities that involve rape of women, killing of male infants and other serious incidents are also included (photographic evidence is available)

19 September 1993:

Following the Zoupi incident, Kuki families, mainly comprising women and children were stationed at Taloulong transit camp. NSCN-IM people went to the camp and picked out thirteen male infants all aged below five and butchered them. One of the mothers recounted the event involving her son "I was carrying my baby daughter in my arms and my son was strapped onto my back My son who was evidently conscious of the Naga's intentions clung tightly on to the collar of my blouse, crying not

to let him be taken away. The Naga, who identified the child's sex, snatched him from me, threw him up in the air and sliced him into pieces with a machete.' This is Naga genocide of Kuki

8 October 1992.

Three women were murdered after being raped at Moultuh, in Chandel district; a two-month old female including two men were also killed. Dr Isack Lamkang, Medical Officer of Chandel, conducted the post-mortem on one of the rapped women, Tinkhohoi Touthang, 20 years of age.

The Doctor's report:

Face blindfolded. Gang raped before being killed. Throat slit up with knife. Left portion of the skull completely battered up. Left breast badly bruised. A piece of stick measuring about 7 inches was found inserted in her vagina.

Pu L Hempao composed an elegy in a Kuki dialect to mark the brutal event

Hammol dougal mason nin

Vangkho khumlhan sangnem noi

Banjal gobang tan taimo

Lhaolha mubang sehih ow Lhingkhonem, Veikhotin

Janglei chungchon nathim thu

Mangkom thong alhung te

Mangkom thong alhung tai

Nampi sonmei Soyang in mangkom

Thim thu alel te nunghei pheiphung sonkit louding

Moltuh gamlei anguije vo Tinkang

Vensen sungtui lo louva chunnu

Gojang tan taimo

Chunnu gojang atante

Vengsen sungtui lo lou vin

Gamgil nao bang a oi oije

7 June 1993:

14 people were killed at Khalong, in Sadar Hills. Eight of these victims were women, all of whom were raped and then killed; the remaining three were children and three men.

18 September 1993:

Pu Mangkholen Hangsing (IAS), Commissioner, Department of Taxation and Excise, was assassinated in cold blood by three men belonging to NSCN-IM cadres around 8 00 AM inside his residence at Signal Basti in Dimapur, Nagaland

Pu Mangkholen was a political visionary: as president of Kuki Students Federation of Nagaland, Assam and Manipur, in 1959 he linked up with Kuki leaders, such as BK Hrangkhawl in Tripura, and others from Burma and the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh As a sportsman, he was a team player and demonstrated excellent skills, particularly in football In 1964,

Pu Mangkholen obtained first position in MA English literature in Guwahati University. He was also the topper in the Nagaland Public Service Commission examinations in 1965, and extraordinarily began his career as Extra Assistant Commissioner rather than as Circle Officer. He was awarded the President gold medal for meritorious service in 1976.

At Pu Mangkholen's funeral service, Pu Tobu Kevichusa, general secretary, Naga National Council, remarked that he was compelled to make a statement: Isak and Muivah, leaders of NSCN-IM have proclaimed among the international community that the Government of India have killed innocent Nagas and abused their human rights. On the contrary, here is a stark example of their role of engaging in fratricidal activity by killing blameless people like Mangkholen to benefit their sectarian policy. One begs the question: if Isak and Muivah were true leaders of the people, why are they concerned with creating 'small houses' only to serve as tiny pockets for a select few rather than build 'large houses' to accommodate the whole nation? Such activity reflects the narrow minded politics of NSCN-IM.

Sadly, on 4 June 1996, Pu Tobu Kevichusa, who firmly stood for peace and unity of the people, was also eliminated by the NSCN-IM at Dimapur. PS Haokip, President of Kuki National Organisation, sent a letter of condolence to the President of Angami People's Organisation.

23 October 1993

Pu Paosei Singsit was founder of Kuki Students Organisation, Delhi and its first president. He was deeply concerned for the Kuki people and committed to improving their lot politically. En route to Athibung Kuki area Pu Paosei and Pu Paolam Chongloi, KSO's general secretary, were murdered by the NSCN-IM between Zalukie and Sanjang. They were on a mission to encourage their people, who were terrorised by the NSCN-IM to pay taxes. Several people had already been killed, too. As a mark of respect

to his memory, an annual Pu Paosei Singsit Award is given by KSO in Delhi to individuals who have contributed significantly in social services.

10 May 1995:

At Taphou, in Sadar Hills, three women were raped and killed. one male was also brutally murdered.

18 January 1994

At Yangnoi, Sadar Hills, seven women belonging to the Chonglon Kuki sub-clan were raped and killed while they were collecting a local herb called aithanglou (in a Kuki dialect) in a nearby forest: as a mark of the tragic incident, men of the village have sworn never again to eat the herb.

19 November 1994.

At Thingsan, in Chandel district, NSCN-IM cadre dressed in Indian Security Forces' uniform and armed with sophisticated weapons, huddled together twenty-five men, tied their hands to their backs and killed them all.

(A comprehensive list of Kuki casualty is given in APPENDIX II)

II. NSCN-IM's tenet 'Nagaland for Christ'?

The preceding atrocities committed on the Kuki people clearly violate the principal tenet 'Nagaland for Christ' adopted by NSCN-IM. Furthermore, a list of incidents of killings, occurring mainly on Sundays inside the church building, highlight the severe incongruence between motto and action.

i) Sunday 18 April 1993, six persons were killed at Sita village in Chandel District.

ii) Monday 19 April 1993, Bongli, Chandel District, five children, all below the age of six were burnt alive along with the Church building.

iii) Sunday 23 May 1993, Pu Paokam Singson, Naga National Council member, from Ahthibung, Nagaland was killed.

iv) Sunday 20 June 1993, Pu Lunjahen Singson was killed at Saijang in Nagaland.

v) Sunday 24 October 1993, three persons killed between Saijang and Litlen

vi) Sunday 25 April 1993, Pu Haopu Kuki of Longphailen, Tamenglong district, killed

vii) Sunday 9 May 1993, Pu Maj Pagin Kipgen was assassinated in front of his wife and little daughter near his home in Dewlahland, Imphal

viii) Sunday 27 June 1993, Ngaitinkim Haokip, a child aged a year and a half was killed at Aisi village in Ukhrul district.

ix) Sunday 27 June 1993, Pu Khotinthang Kipgen, Chief of Tujangvaichong was kidnapped and later killed.

x) Sunday 18 July 1993, three persons killed at Sikibung village in Ukhrul district

xi) Sunday 19 September 1993, fifteen children (all male and below the age of five) were slaughtered at Talc ulong transit camp

xii) Sunday 10 October 1993, Jamkhomang Haokip and his wife Tongnem were killed in a paddy field in Ukhrul district.

xiii) On New Year's Day, Sunday 1 January 1995, five people were killed during a worship service at Haipi Village in Sadar Hills

xiv) Sunday 15 May 1994 Pu Thangboi Lenthang was killed at Molte in Karbi Anglong, Assam

xv) On Saturday 14 May 1994, fifteen people were slaughtered and burnt along with the church building at Sipimol in Tamenglong district

xvi) Sunday 11 December 1994, Pu Henkhohao, a college student, was killed in Nagaland

xvii) Sunday 11 December 1994, Pu Lamkhongam, a college student, was killed in Nagaland.

12. KUKI TERRITORY

The Kuki people have always dwelt in Zale'n-gam, their ancestral land. Zale'n-gam includes the hills of present-day Manipur Ukhrul District, where Muivah, belonging to the Tangkhul tribe, hails is also a part of Kuki territory. Kuki maintained peace in Zale'n-gam. The Tangkhuls paid tax and tributes to the Kuki chiefs. It was also customary for them to carry the Kuki chiefs on palanquins whenever they toured the region. In Zale'n-gam, the Tangkhul population, which engaged constantly in intra-clan warfare would have become extinct, but for the intervention of Kukis. Contrary to Muivah's allegation of Kukis killing Tangkhuls, that intra-clan or internecine warfare was the order of the day amongst Nagas in general is clearly described by SC Jamir, former Chief Minister of Nagaland in Bedrock of Naga Society:

The main 'contact' between villages was through the savage practice of headhunting. Mutual suspicion and distrust was rife. People led an insular and isolated life. Internecine warfare was the order of the day. There was no trust or interaction between different tribes.

13. Records dating back to AD 33, during which Nongba Lairen Pakhangba, the first Meitei king existed refer to two Kuki Chiefs named Kuki Ahongba and Kuki Achouba. Chetharol Kumaba (Royal Chronicles of the Meitei Kings) notes, in the year 186 Sakabda (AD 264) Meidungu Taothingmang, a Kuki, became king. A letter to the editor of The Telegraph, which corroborates the authenticity of Kuki's existence in their ancestral lands, is reproduced below

The Telegraph, 17 January 1994

Letter to the Editor Reader, NP Rakung, Imphal

Mr S Horamwo's letter contains an error (Too many Kukis? December 1)

The term 'Hao', in fact, refers to all tribals in Manipur, and the term 'Naga' is never mentioned in the 'Pooyas' - the ancient texts of the Meithis. The term Kuki however features prominently in the texts.

According to the 'Pooyas', two Kuki Chiefs named Kuki Ahongba and Kuki Achouba were allies to Nongba Lairen Pakhangba, the first historically recorded king of the Meithis, in the latter's mobilisation for the throne in 33 AD. In fact, there are innumerable instances provided by the texts which show the Kukis were a salient part in the creation of the Manipur kingdom. Moreover, the Meithis are a sub-tribe of Chin-Kuki-Mizo ethinc groups, according to Linguistic Survey of India.

Hence, if the Kukis deserve to be thrown out of Manipur, an event the author doubtless endorses, the Nagas, who have been terrorising India for the last 40 years too merit a similar treatment.

Prof JN Phukan writes:

If we were to accept Ptolemy's 'Tiladae' as the 'Kuki' people, as identified by Gerini, the settlement of the Kuki in North-East India would go back to a very long time in the past. As Professor Gangumei Kabui thinks, 'some Kuki tribes migrated to Manipur hills in the pre-historic times along with or after the Meitei advent in the Manipur valley (History of Manipur, p24).' This hypothesis will take us to the theory that the Kukis, for the matter, the Mizos, at least some of their tribes, had been living in North-East India since the prehistoric time, and therefore, their early home must be sought in the hills of Manipur and the nearby areas rather than in Central China or the Yang-tze valley. This hypothesis needs a very serious study in the light of recent findings of pre-historic and proto-historic settlements in North-East India.

In spite of the historical facts related to Kuki indigenity, Muivah chooses to resort to accounts written by British officials which begin only from the eighteenth-century. Kuki history cannot be confined to those accounts covering only the latter part of the last millennium, their history extends beyond those that exist in British records. Irrational as it is, British accounts referring to Nagas and Kukis, nonetheless seems to serve Muivah's intentions to degrade Kuki, and hence he and his ilk's continual reference, for instance, to McCulloch. McCulloch might have been responsible for resettling a small population of Kukis in certain parts of the hills of Manipur. In any case, those places were within Kuki domain, where the Tangkhuls paid tax and tributes to the Kuki chiefs.

It must be noted that the Kukis were a constant threat to the British. Movement of a particular Kuki population from one point to another was purely to safeguard the British from Kuki offences. In contrast, the British did not move the Tangkhuls from one region to another because they were loyal to them. It is ludicrous to suggest that McCulloch settled the entire Kuki population. Muivah should hereafter refrain from making the remark 'Kukis are nomadic', which he has based on British accounts. It shows how shallow his knowledge is. The deeper we dig into history, the more it becomes clear that Tangkhuls are not indigenous to Manipur. They migrated, for instance, from Somra Tracts in Burma, where they still dwell.

14. Both Kuki and Naga are historically owners of their respective regions presently encompassed within Northeast India and Northwest Myanmar (Burma). Their countries were divided by the British and administered under British India and British Burma. In post independent period, Government made the line of division an international boundary without due consultation of the concerned peoples. To suggest that either Kuki or Naga are migrants in terms of movement between Burma and India is to

accede to alien rule over their territories. This is a direct contradiction in terms of assertions of self-determination by KNO and NSCN

Therefore, migration is a relative matter It can only be applied contextually Besides, boundaries are created and can change over time, especially in the past. Waves of migrations, whether of Naga or Kuki, took place and perhaps continue to take place within a region that was part of ancestral lands with boundaries that tended to be porous. A particular migration at a particular period cannot be the be-all and end-all of any ethnic group's movement It is conceivable, too, that not all Tangkhuls migrated in one wave For example, the people of Bongpa Tangkhul village (which is the village Rishang Keishing comes from) were originally from the banks of the river Nathalit (Tizu) in the Somra Tract, in Burma In this regard, the particular Tangkhul tribe migrated from Burma; the chief of Chassad settled them in their present-day Bongpa village in Ukhrul. Phungyar is the constituency from which Mr Keishing was elected member of the Manipur Legislative Assembly The original name of the village was Phaisat, a Kuki village The Tangkhuls seized this village from the Kukis and named it Phungyar The point of this illustration is that if Kukis are to be referred to as 'nomadic' or 'immigrants', how the Naga people's movements should be termed? If Tangkhuls were to take a rational view on the issue of 'migration', it would go a long way in creating better understanding with Kukis Maybe someday they will, and perhaps then they will realise that it is irrational to keep harping on about the Kuki community being nomadic Otherwise they risk a) the same measures being applied to them and b) the eventuality of another dispute that could turn violent again

15 The items of British colonial literature concerning Kuki are generally not complimentary This is essentially because Kuki opposed the British colonialists from the outset, the 'Kuki rising, 1917-1919' (OIOC) being the culminating event of the opposition

Nagas, in contrast, were often referred to as 'friendlies'. Perhaps this explains why there are so many more books written by the British on Nagas, and not surprisingly, very few on Kukis

16 Significant Kuki offences to protect their territory against the British invaders started in 1760s, during the time of Warren Hastings, Governor General of India. Carey and Tuck (1932) refer to an event that took place a hundred years on 'the year 1860 saw the great Kuki invasion of Tipperah [Tripura], and the following year a large body of police marched to the hills to punish and avenge ' Of this war Col Elly (1893) wrote, 'in 1845 1847-1848, 1849-1850, and 1850-1851 there were raids culminating in what is called the Great Kuki Invasion of 1860s '

17 In the twentieth-century, Kuki featured in both the World War theatres The period of WW I marked a momentous Kuki offensive against the British, which is recorded as 'Kuki rising, 1917-1919', and also referred to as 'Anglo-Kuki War, 1917-1919' Shakespeare (1929), Palit (1984) and the recently released book Guardians of the North East (2003), record the event as 'Kuki Rebellion, 1917-1919'. A notable feature of this war is the fact that a relatively minor ethnic group withstood the might of the British imperialist power continuously for nearly three years Kuki offensives against the British are a reflection of Kuki's historicity, that they are indigenous people of what is understood as Northeast India, today, as well as parts of Northwest Burma and the Chittagong Hill Tracts The evidence of this historicity is embedded in the lineage of the Maharajahs of Tripura, who are Kuki, and as cited above (section 12), in that of the Ningthou's of Manipur

18 In WW II, Kuki sided with the Axis powers along with the Indian National Army. The Kukis fought this war to regain Zale'n-gam's sovereignty from the British. During the war, Pakang, alias Japan Pakang, various Kuki leaders and many warriors actively participated with the Japanese in expeditions against the British. The late Jamthang Haokip has meticulously recorded the details of the expeditions In total there are about one hundred and fifty

(150) Kuki INA pensioners, as many as eighty are listed in Freedom Fighters of Manipur (1985).

19. A clarification concerning Kukis in Nagaland

The Kuki National Organisation explicitly states that issues concerning Kuki in Nagaland are separate from those related to Kuki in other parts, such as in present-day Manipur, Assam, Tripura and Burma. In a press release on 13 March 1994, the Kuki Inpi of Nagaland categorically stated that the Kukis of Nagaland are not a part of the Kuki movement that is taking place elsewhere. Muivah's attempt to mix up Kuki politics, intended to whip up anti-Kuki sentiments in Nagaland, must be categorically ignored.

Hitherto, Muivah has to a significant extent managed to ride on the successes of Phizo's Naga movement. For instance, attempting to gain credit for NSCN-IM on an exercise of humanitarian gesture that was demonstrated by Phizo, Muivah unashamedly refers to '9 (nine) aircrew, of which 2 (two) were Air Force officers', who were released unharmed. The event occurred during Phizo's time. Squadron Leader Kartik, brother of the film actress Kalpana Kartik, and wife of actor Dev Anand, was one of the Indian Air Force officers. Kalpana Kartik went to London to meet Phizo, where he was in exile, to plea for her brother's release by the NNC cadre. Moved by Madame Kartik's entreaty, Phizo issued an order of pardon and the entire air force crew was set free. It is unthinkable that Muivah would be capable of exercising such humanitarian gesture, considering, for example, the fact that he had the husband of his present wife shot in cold blood so that he could marry her! Furthermore, by his order, on 9 May 1993, Major S (Pagin) Kipgen was assassinated by NSCN-IM in front of his wife and little daughter. To this day the cowardly Muivah has officially not admitted to ordering the assassination! This shows he is unscrupulous and does not uphold any revolutionary principle. That he has acted treacherously against the Nagas and Kukis is also a sign that he does not believe in the Naga emblem

of 'Nagaland for Christ'. On the one hand, Muivah still uses the 'Nagaland for Christ' logo on the NSCN-IM letterhead. The threat letter sent to Major Kipgen before his assassination also is stamped with the same logo. Muivah's contradictory actions can only be attributed to his pathological disposition to lie, and to the Maoist indoctrination he received during his stay in China, along with Isak.

Tributes to Maj Pagin:

AH, MAJOR

Oh, how much he loved India!
That I'd define:
Home he came, a leg lost,
From war on border line;
No heroes welcome, no gains personal
For guarding his motherland
From forces external.
Yet he did the best he could,
For peace with people hills around,
Reward, of course, as Nagas would.
Hot leads for love to them abound
Widowed his wife, orphaned a child,
And his people not waken wide,
Despised and forgotten by half you saved,
Major, the rest salute your grave '

VALEDICTIONS TO A HUSBAND

Head bent, a woman lauded
Honour and admirations to her dead.
Greath, glad am I, your aim you won
For us you built a home, not mere a house;
Yet, left me to live a Churc-mouse,
Just to survive in august of your candour

You, a man of supra-mental power,
But in you dwelt more of reverence,
So, prevent I my sons from vices of vengeance,
And those barbarians had I pardoned in God's name

Is the work 'Kuki' worth dying for?
When we shall frame our oneness to unity,
When each of us're lead by honesty,
And when all shall strive for peace

Oh, I cured to affix my heart-sore mean:
He was tortured to death this morn!
I dare not so to unveil his face,
He died the death of a Soldier of Peace

'REST IN PEACE, O THOU LIVING MARTYR'

- Mamang Thangeo

20 Participation of Kukis in Nagaland

Kukis, as indigenous people in Nagaland, have from the outset participated actively in the pursuit of independence for Nagaland Kukis were members of the Naga army much before Muivah appeared on the scene of Naga politics. For example, Pu Lengjang Kuki was a signatory of the memorandum submitted by the Naga Club to the Simon Commission in 1929. Kuki was one of the five tribes that formed the Naga Club in 1919, which later changed to Naga National Council. In 1946, Pu Seikhohen Kuki and Pu Tangkhoser Kuki (Ex-NPSC member) were elected as members of Naga National Council. NNC was the prime mover of Naga nationalism. The late Pu Seikhohen Kuki was also one of the selected members of the constitution Drafting Committee of NNC. He was also included in the first Naga Delegation that went to Delhi to meet Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, to discuss the issue of Naga Independence.

Participation of Kuki in the Naga Plebiscite held in 1951

The Naga Voluntary Plebiscite was completed on 16 May 1951. The Kukis in Nagaland participated in the plebiscite, voting in favour of Naga Independence. This marks Kuki's unflinching support to the undisputed leadership of Phizo. The Kuki leaders of the time, many of whom have passed away, are Onpao Kuki (President, Kuki Union), Paochung Kuki (GB, Khaibung), Dr Lenzalal Kuki (Gaonbura, Bungsang, father of late Seikhohen Kuki) and several other Gaonburas. Indelible historical records exist to bear witness to Kukis' indigenous status in Nagaland.

Khaplang, leader of NSCN, has made the following observation (On Naga Hoho's Naga Integration, dated 5 June 2002, p7):

Simon Commission: The 1929 memorandum submitted to Sir John Simon by the Naga and considered as another footstool of Nagas' right to political existence and Sovereignty had other Nagas but not the Tangkhuls. Had the Tangkhuls been Nagas then, what were these Tangkhuls doing then? The Kukis has been crashed to

almost nothingness had the NSCN not been there but remember Kukis were the main participants of this Commission. However the Tangkhuls who have never been Nagas and immediately taking identity of a Naga and running criminalism against the Kukis is undeniably Terrorism. And, if the Kukis, the main participant can be deprived of Naga identity for the sake of Tangkhuls then, what about the Tangkhuls who never participated? Absolutely no to Tangkhuls!

Despite the cordial relationship that has prevailed between Kuki and Naga in Nagaland, Muivah has unremittingly pursued a racially motivated campaign to malign and discredit Kuki. Relevant to the history of Nagaland, Ms Adino, President Naga National Council (NNC) and daughter of Phizo, in an interview with , pointed out that Tangkhuls did not want to join the Naga movement, preferring to remain with Meitei in Manipur. On Naga Hoho's Naga Integration (p12), too, it is clearly stated that the Tangkhuls were given the opportunity from 1964 to 1972 to join the union of Nagaland. However, in 1972 Rishang Keishing denounced such an idea as deplorable, and declared that Meiteis and Tangkhuls were brothers and that they were inseparable. Further to that, Mr Keishing, as a Chief Minister of Manipur, passed a Bill, which confirmed that not an inch of Manipur would be merged with Nagaland. Tangkhul is also referred to as the elder of Meitei (p8). All of these leads to the question: Why are Tangkhuls, both civilians and those who are members of Muivah's NSCN faction, engaging in terrorist activities on Naga soil?

21. Muivah refers to the British motivated Meitei and Kuki expedition in Kohima. With regard to this incident, Muivah claims in the article 'KUKI AND THE NAGA PUBLIC CLASHES' that 3000 Nagas were slaughtered. That Muivah has a proclivity to lie and to exaggerate is also revealed in this instance, according to NSCN-IM publication Statement on Kuki Atrocities Against the Nagas, the alleged figure is 300. It was to guard against the divide-and-rule policy of the British, such as in the above episode, where Meitei and Kuki and Naga are together pitted against Naga, that

the Angami Naga people and Kukis made a formal peace treaty. To formalise the treaty they drank zu (wine) from the barrel of a flintlock, and in a customary fashion of oath taking, they killed a dog, broke open its head and snapped the intestine. The symbolic significance of this was that whichever party broke the treaty would be cursed, they would die from the barrel of a gun, and their head smashed open and the intestine snapped like the dog. Friendship gifts like spears and guns were exchanged. The Kukis helped Khonoma, Samoa Khel, in their constructions of a fort called Semo-Kunda, which still stands today. The late Niu Lungalang (former IPS officer) also recalled that the Kukis gave the Khonoma people three indigenous made pumpi (canon made of bison hide).

In 1995 two Angami men from Khozuma village of Nagaland were persuaded by Tangkhuls to go and purchase buffalo from a Kuki village in Manipur. This was at a time when NSCN-IM was engaged in killing innocent Kuki villagers in great numbers. The Kuki villagers were unaware of the two men's activity. However, when the people of Khozuma realised the two men had not returned they assumed Kukis had killed them. Consequently, in 1995 the Angami People's Organisation (APO) served quit notice to the Kukis of Nagaland, the deadline being set for 25 July. At Delhi, on 24 July 1995, the Kuki Students Organisation went on a rally and presented a memorandum to the National Human Rights Commission, appealing for intervention. Fortunately, the intervention took place in the nick of time and the Angamis, realising foul play was involved, retracted the quit notice. The Kuki National Organisation are grateful to the Angami people for their timely discernment and positive action. The organisation also appreciates the role of Pu SC Jamir, former Chief Minister of Nagaland, in resolving the sensitive issue.

22. Relationship between Zeliang people and Kuki people

The Angamis did not welcome the Zeliang people, who arrived in Naga Hills from Assam. The Khonoma Angamis therefore

assaulted the Zeliangs, raping their women while the men folk were made to stand nearby and bear the lighted torch. On the strength of their relationship, the Kuki chiefs dissuaded Angamis from abusing Zeliangs. It was this humanitarian intervention that enabled more and more Zeliang population to migrate from Assam and establish their settlement in Nagaland. In the 1950s, more Rongmeis arrived from Manipur.

The Zeliangs were settled in Kuki land. As owners of the land, Kuki chiefs received tax from the Zeliang tribe. In the Insoung region, tax was paid to the Kuki chief of Jolpi, in M'boulo and Boulo regions, to Kuki chief of Saithem; in the Inkeo range, to Kuki chief of Sinjol, in the Tening range, to Kuki chief Bombal. In 1968, Kuki chief of Tolbung received from Basampui (Neisempui) tax for the last time. At a solemn ceremony it was decided that payment of tax would discontinue and the two peoples would live together as jol (traditional form of friendship).

However, today, we experience a rather ungrateful attitude, which is also unsettling. Rather than show gratitude to Kukis, Zeliangs, have soiled their hands by joining Muivah and went on the rampage against Kuki, killing as many as 150 of them. That Zeliangs should treat the Kukis in such a manner is inconceivable. Muivah has managed to reduce the Zeliangs to such a dehumanized state that they are now capable of treating the Kukis this way. The Zeliangs also mercilessly burnt down 14 Kuki villages. To make matters worse, influenced by Muivah's racist anti-Kuki ideology, their villages in Peren sub-division are subjected to a humiliating forced payment of Rupees fifty, every five years per village in order to acknowledge the landownership of Zeliangs"" (Govt. Nagaland, NO (C ON) 7 86, countersigned by Wepretso Mero, Additional DC). This illegal act was carried out at gunpoint and will not be countenanced by any body. It will also be inadmissible in any court. If Zeliangs ever want to redeem their status a decent community, they must free themselves from Muivah's manipulations.

In contrast to Phizo's broad-minded Naga nationalism, mean-minded Tangkhuls, who share similar traits as Muivah, have exhibited a narrow outlook. This has primarily been because of their emotionally charged sense of vendetta against Kuki since 1950s. On 26 May 1987, Pakang Haokip of Maokot in Ukhrul District was assassinated by the NSCN-IM. Following this incident, the Kukis decided to form a Consultative Committee of Kuki Leaders (CCKL), on 4 July 1987. In order to raise awareness on the Kuki plight, the committee submitted a memorandum to Rishang Keishing, Chief Minister of Manipur, which included the list of 42 Kukis killed and 64 of their villages uprooted (see APPENDIX I). Needless to say, no concrete measures were taken up by the government to help the Kukis. The apathy of the government was followed by the onslaught against Kuki led by NSCN-IM from 1992-1997. As pointed out above, unable to bear the continued badgering, and the realization that government would not be able to provide protection, the Kukis started to fight back. This act of self-defence against the aggression of NSCN-IM, unfortunately was reported as 'conflict' between Kukis and Nagas. It must be reiterated that there is no 'ethnic conflict' or clashes' between Naga and Kuki, there is only aggression by the former and defence by the latter.

24.It is worth mentioning that Naga casualties (as a result of Kuki retaliation to Naga aggression) do not include women and children. This was owing to Kuki tradition to maintain honour in war. During the 'Kuki rising, 1917-1919', at the Oktan durbars Pu Tintong, C-in-C of Kuki army, strictly forbade his men to kill JC Higgins, the British political agent, who had gone to meet the Kukis in relation to recruitment for the Labour Corps. Pu Tintong is recorded to have remarked that it was against Kuki custom and a cowardly act, too, to behave like the Meitei people who in 1891 invited the British Chief Commissioner to their court for a meeting and killed him and his entourage in cold blood. The above list of Naga casualties confirms that NSCN-IM, contrary to the claim of Muivah, was deliberately engaged in afflicting civilians. It is time

for Muivah to try and exercise a degree of self-respect, and also try to serve his followers with some honour. He must therefore discontinue falsifying data and seek professional psychiatric help to try to overcome his pathological disposition to lie. Muivah alleges that various Indian newspapers have falsely accused him of committing many crimes. The evidence cited above are corroborated by the media in several Nagaland newspapers, such as Nagaland Post, Ura Mail, Naga Banner as well as in other local and national newspapers. Relatives of victims who have died at the hands of NSCN-IM- led Manipur Nagas are still alive to provide eyewitness accounts

25. The Chingjaroi incident

The Chingjaroi episode has been repeatedly quoted to slander Kuki. Perhaps it is time to present the true picture of the incident, however embarrassing it may prove to be for Muivah. The background is as follows:

Tukei [Tukih] is a Kuki. His jol (jol was a form of close friendship that existed between Kuki and other ethnic groups, such as Tangkhuls. a Tangkhul, was owed a certain amount of money by people in Chingjaroi Tangkhul village. Tukih's jol went to Chingjaroi to collect the debt owed to him. Rather than repay the loan, the debtors decided to kill Tukih's jol, and that too in a manner most gruesome: sliced pieces of his body flesh, including the heart and liver, was stuck onto his own spear and sent to his wife. Clearly, this was intended not only to avoid paying back the loan, but also to humiliate Tukih, who was unaware of the incident, went to visit his jol. The distraught wife did not immediately reveal to Tukih what had happened. She acted normally and prepared a meal consisting of a dish of chicken and rice. When Tukih finished eating, she explained how her husband had been brutally murdered and showed him the spear with its contents. Tukih avenged his jol's death, which was also requested by the wife. Lhungdim (1995, 159) writes about this event

The infamous plunders committed by Pu Tukih Lupheng and Lumkhokai Haokip which were very much talked about did not come out as mere expeditions against villagers of Chingjaroi Tangkhul. It was rather an act of vengeance necessitated by the bond of friendship between Tangkhul and a Khungzai (Kuki) in those days.

Muivah also alleges other atrocities committed by Kuki. With reference to these please note the excerpt below (Lhungdim, 1995, 158-159), which will shed light on the subject matter and provide the relevant historical and political background of Naga and Kuki affairs:

Internecine wars among the Kabuis and the Tangkhuls led the Kuki warriors to come to the rescue of certain weaker sections among the Nagas in Ukhrul and Tamenglong divisions of Manipur. It was said in those days that had there been no Kuki intervention, the magnitude of human lives toll on account of the internecine wars among the Naga groups of people, could have been much heavier than that was actually seen among Naga villages. The ill-conceived view that the Kukis ware exploiting a section of the Tangkhuls along the Bongpa areas up to the level of slavery as wrongly given vent to by some vested politicians in Manipur hill areas cannot but be denied inasmuch as the role of the Kuki chiefs had all along been one of mediation and intervention only for the sake of preventing further loss of lives. One Kuki patriarch, Pu Haokhohem Haokip, who died at the age of 100 years or so in 1967, said that they (Kukis) had no desire to poke their nose in the wars among some sections of Tangkhuls, but it was only after much lobbying and cajoling that they used to intervene in the inter-village wars towards the end of the 19th century in Ukhrul areas. Pu Nehlam Kuki, chief of Chassad, was said to have saved many Tangkhul lives from the clutches of the other Tangkhul clans who were of diverse linguistic groups, having no common bond of kinship till the onset of the first half of the 20th century.

26.As stated above, prior to the advent of the British colonialists in Zale'n-gam, the Kuki chiefs accommodated the Tangkhuls and Kabuis, from whom they received tax and tributes. During the 'Kuki rising, 1917-1919', people of Khotum Kuki village and Akhui Naga village performed a ceremonial feast to seal an agreement to fight against the British. In the meantime, Tintong Haokip, C-in-C Kuki army and Enjakhup Kholhou, Dy C-in-C, were away in Naga Hills to make a similar agreement with Angami Naga people of Khonoma village and to encourage the Kuki freedom fighters. While they were away, the Akhui Nagas reneged on the agreement they made with Khotum Kuki. With the help of a few surrounding Naga village people the Akhui Nagas attacked Natjang Kuki village, killing all of its inhabitants, except for a father and son who were away from the village. Upon their return from Naga Hills, Tintong and Enjakhup razed three Kabui Naga villages in retaliation, not ten 'Zeliangrong villages' as exaggerated by Muivah. The names of the three Kabui villages are Natop, Khungakhun and Chaloi.

27 Muivah alleges the Indian armed forces support to the Kuki National Army. Consider the following to ascertain the facts that reveal support rendered to NSCN-IM: At the height of NSCN-IM-led genocidal activities against Kuki, Rishang Keishing, a Tangkhul, was Deputy Chief Minister of the Government of Manipur. Lt General (Retd) VK Nayar, the Governor of Manipur, was the General Officer Commanding (GOC) of the states of Nagaland and Manipur. He had successfully brought under control insurgency activities in the two states (Hindustan Times, 23 September 1993). The Governor submitted a report to the Government of India regarding Mr Keishing's nexus with the NSCN-IM. Singh (1996) wrote in an article Is Keishing backing Naga movement? 'On Oct 5, 1993, Gen Nayar had written a confidential letter to the President of India in which he had alleged that Keishing was "aiding and abetting" the NSCN (I-M) in order to "subvert the Government machinery and the police."'

Singh (1996) also refers to an alleged letter addressed to Mr Keishing, Chief Minister of Manipur, sent by the Government of People's Republic of a Nagaland (CPRN), stating that the organization had received a sum of 25 lakhs from the CM 'toward our national movement for Shepoumaramth region.' 'The letter, a copy of which is in possession of "The Hindustan Times," is signed by one K. Maikho Pao, "Revenue Officer" of GPRN, and is apparently written on the letterhead of that organization.'

Following the news report and disclosure, curiously, rather than Mr Keishing being apprehended, Gen Nayar was removed as a punishment from his Governorship of Manipur before his tenure was completed. On the other hand, rather astonishingly, Mr Keishing was promoted from Dy Chief Minister and installed as Chief Minister of Manipur. During this period Indian security forces were deployed strategically in the war torn hills of Manipur to favour the Naga villages. Furthermore, at this critical juncture, Prof Meijinlung Kamson, MP, a Kabui Naga, was given the sensitive portfolio Minister of State for Home Affairs. It is a known fact that Prof Kamson was a crony of the Mr Keishing, CM.

The same letter to Mr Keishing from GPRN cited above also states. 'On the same we are standing (Sic) on our earlier commitment to give our full support to the candidature of Prof Meijinlung Kamson for the forthcoming Parliamentary elections.'

The Manipur Legislative Assembly addressed the issue of the uniform scandal: Ngaraipam, a Tangkhul, CO, 2nd Manipur Rifles, was involved in channeling uniform worth rupees 35 lakhs to NSCN-IM. Vigilance case was also registered against the CO.

In the state of Nagaland, too, the situation was not different. The Times of India, 24 February 1995 reported

In Nagaland, the NSCN-IM have openly set up camps in villages, confident that they have nothing to fear from the Indian security forces. Says Shri Sebi, headman of Khonoma village, in Angami territory, NSCN factions and the India Army see each other, and

do not fight. The NSCN people are in our village. We asked them to leave. We do not want to get in trouble with the Army, who will torture us. They said 'No, the Army will not come when we are here.' Why is the Army not chasing the NSCN, when earlier they lost no chance to hound the Naga National Army (Phizo group)? We ask these questions, does the government want the NSCN to be strong? How have they become so powerful?"

Following all of these sordid events, from 1997, the Government of India chose to sign a ceasefire with NSCN-IM, completely leaving aside Kukis. Given the prevailing circumstances, one has to beg the question: Who is backing whom?

The above points show the historical position of Kukis in relationship to their ancestral lands. NSCN-IM, a terrorists group, has aggressed upon Kukis and their land. In the process there have been scores of Kuki casualties. In other words, the victims deprived of land, those who have been killed, not to mention other abuses of their human rights, have been categorically ignored. In spite of the deluge of evidence that Muivah & Isak have engaged in genocidal activities, the Government of India is talking to them rather than with Kukis. The signal being sent out by this act of Government suggests, reward the aggressor and ignore the victim. This attitude has encouraged NSCN-IM to become more confident and make assertions, such as not having killed innocent people, not being guilty of committing acts of terrorism, etc and the absurd allegation that KNA and Indian security forces have worked together.

The NSCN-IM cannot hold talks with the Government of India concerning Kuki land. The facts regarding ownership of land is that Kukis possess legal rights, which is indisputable. The Tangkhuls have engaged in a systematic elimination of Kuki chiefs since the 1950s to dispossess Kukis of their rights.

Muivah should be tried by a tribunal, and declared a terrorist rather than entertain his outrageous demands and legitimize him

as a leader. The Government of India must deal with NSCN-IM leadership as terrorists, not as legal entities of an organisation. The Government must also prove that contrary to Muivah's claim, the NSCN-IM have killed thousands of innocent people, and that this organization is definitely a terrorist group. To confirm this, the Government should also call NSCN-IM's bluff and actually send a fact-finding mission to Manipur. This will satisfy not only the Kukis, but also every self-respecting human being who are concerned about human rights issues. The Kukis are prepared to produce concrete evidence of NSCN-IM's brutal murders and other material, such as photographs, mass graves (where it was impossible to have individual burials), bones of those hacked to pieces, fabricated videos, as evidence.

The Kuki National Organisation hopes justice will be done.

Many villages have been torched and have been vacated, and about a thousand innocent Kuki lives have been lost.

3 LIST OF THE DEAD, AND WHERE THE KILLING TOOK PLACE

S.No	Name	Name of Village & District	Year
1.	Jampao Kipgen	Joupi, Tamenglong	1957
2.	Lhaijaneng Kipgen	Joupi, Tamenglong	1957
3.	Henkai Kipgen Joupi,	Tamenglong	1957
4.	Thangjalam Chongloi	Chief of Toljang, Ukhrul	1957
5.	Lhaijavei W o Thanglim	Chongloi Khonomphai,	1957
6.	Otpao Touthang	Phaikoh, Ukhrul	1957
7.	Paokhohen Touthang	Changsang, Sanapati	1962

8.	Tongpu Lupho	Saioh Village	1965
9.	Seilet Kuki	Bungsang, Nagaland	1967
10.	Khaipao Lupheng	Changsang, Ukhrul	1960
11.	Songsei Kipgen	Chf Saichang,Ukhrul	1958
12.	Satkhosei Chongloi	Phaikon, Sadar Hills	1964
13.	Sehthang Chongloi	Phaikon, Sadar Hills	1963
14.	Hollet Kipgen	Ch Saihaphoh(Burma)	1985
15.	Ngamkhothang	Ch of Jangnoi(Burma)	1987
16.	Pakang Haokip	Maokot, Ukhrul	1987
17.	Kaimang	Old Gelbung,Sadar Hills	1968
18.	Min Hetlou mi-3	Khomunnom, Ukhrul	1969
19.	NgahnengC.	Kholen Ukhrul	1969
20.	Pasei Haokip	Akhen (Nagaland)	1957
21.	Paokhomang Haokip	Akhen (Nagaland)	1957
22.	Letkhopao Haokip	Akhen (Nagaland)	1957
23.	Thongkhopao Singsit	Cf of Ihangkarong,	1982
24.	Letkholun Haokip	Gelbung, Sadar Hills	1965
25.	Ngamjathang Haokip	Gelbung, Sadar Hills	1965
26	Haopu Singsit	Laikot Village	1971
27.	Khuplet Dimngel	Joupi, Tamenglong	1970
28.	Ngulkhomang	Selsi East, Tamenglong	1958
29.	Haokhothang	Nganje Village	1958
30	Somkhosei Kipgen	Saichang Village	1958

31	Jamkhoson Haokip	Chief of Tokaibung, Chandel	1961
32	Doukhosei Haokip	Hengjang, Ukhrul	1965
33	Seikhothang	Dahtum, Sadar Hills	1970
34	Haokhojang	Hengjol, Ukhrul	1970
35	Langkeng Haokip	Gashpani,Nagaland	1957
36.	Seikholet Lhouvum	Tengnoupa, Chandell	1958
37	Paokholet Thangeo	Tengnoupal, Chandel	1975
38	Holkho Lhugdim	L Mongbung, Ukhrul	1962
39	Hatkho Touthang	Phaikoh, Ukhrul	1957
40	Lhaijeneng Touthang	Phaikoh, Ukhrul	1957
41.	Otkhojam Touthang	Phaikoh, Ukhrul	1957
42.	Chungkholet Touthang	Phaikoh, Ukhrul	1957
43	Paokhongam Chongloi,	Chf Chingjaroi(Kuki)	1960
44	Ngamkholet Kipgen,	Chief Poi, Manipur	1960
45	Paokam Kipgen, Chief	Phaljang, Manipur	1962
46	Dimthem Hangsing	Khomunnom,Manipur	1967
47	Chonghao Hangsing	Khomunnom,Manipur	1967
48	Ngulkhohen Chongloi	Khomunnom,Manipur	1967
49	Lhingjahoi Chongloi	Khomunnom	1967
50	Jonkhothang Haokip	Chassad	1967
51	Paokhohen	Changsang	1967
52	Ngamkhosei Kipgen	Keithelmanbi	1969
53	Jamkhosem Kipgen Chief	Hengjang	

54	Ngampao Kipgen	Songtun	1971
55	Jamkam Chongloi Chief	Maval	1974
56	Thangkholun Lhungdim	Goboh	1987
57	Nemkhochin Singson	Churachandpur	1989
58	Jamkhohao Lupho	Matijang	1990
59	Heikhoson Chief	Vasangphung	1991
60	Jakhothang Kipgen	Vasangphung	1991

LIST OF KUKIS KILLED BY NSCN (IM) IN NAGALAND:

S.No	Name	Address	Sex/A	Occupation	Year
61	Ngulkhojang Hangsing NNC member			Ahthibung	M-60 12-8-92
62	Letkhojang Hangsing Chief of Phanjang			Phanjang	M-30 16-4-93
63	Thangkhongam Hangsing Chairman, Village Council			Phanjang	M-36 16-4-93
64	Paokam Singson NNC member			Ahthibung	M-62 23-5-93
65	Chunglam Farmer			Phanjang	M-74 5-6-93
66	Chungneilal Gangte Pastor, UPC Church			Songngou	M-30 18-6-93
67	Lunjahen Singson Secy VDB			Saijang	M-33 20-6-93
68	Nguljang Hangsing Rtd. Head Goan Bura			Old Chalkot	M-83 14-6-93

69	Thangkhotheh Hmar Farmer	Old Chalkot	M-70 14-6-93
70	Letjang Guite Farmer	Old Chalkot	M-39 14-6-93
71	Chungjang Hmar Farmer	Old Chalkot	M-28 14-6-93
72	Seithang Singson NAP constable	Old Chalkot	M-28 14-6-93
73	Singkhohen Haokip Student	Old Chalkot	M-16 14-6-93
74	Mangkholen Hangsing, IAS. Com of Excise	Dimapur	M-53 18-9-93
75	Thenjalal Thangeo Student	Maova village	M-31 14-6-93
76	Henkai Farmer	Songthuh Village	M-36 22-9-93
77	Paosei Singsit Lecturer, Pr KSO.	Saijang Village	M-36 22-10-93
78	Paokholam Chongloi UDA & Gen. Secy KSO (N)	Vongkithem Village	M-35 23-10-93
79	Thangsat Thangeo Farmer	Saijang Village	M-27 24-10-93
80	Seikhahao Singson Student	Lilen Village	M-16 24-10-93
81	Haojang Chongloi Teacher	Phanjang Village	M-30 24-10-93
82	Letkhothong Hangsing Jt Secy Kuki Innpi, Nagaland	Ahthibung	M-33 30-11-93

83	Seikam Chongloi Student	Ahthibung	M-20	30-11-93
84	Thathang Thangeo Driver	Ahthibung	M-34	30-11-93
85	Nemhoi Hangsing Widow	Bongkolong	F-60	30-11-93
86	Henkhokam Hangsing HSLC (Class X)	Bongkolong	M-17	30-11-93
87	Lamgunthang Minor	Sailhem Village	M-5	27-12-93
88	Tongpao Phaikholum	M-60	Chief of Phaikholum	27-12-93
89	Thomkholam Phaikholum	M-32	Farmer	27-12-93
90	Lalhen Phaikholum	M-62	Farmer	27-12-93
91	Letkhosei Old Soget	M-60	Farmer	27-12-93
92	Paokhojang Old Soget	M-32	Farmer	27-12-93
93	Sehkhopao Old Soget	M-75	Farmer	28-12-93
94	Doupao Old Soget	M-45	Farmer	28-12-93
95	Nehthang Old Soget	M-38	Pastor	28-12-93
96	Lunkhosei Old Soget	M-45	Farmer	28-12-93
97	Lalkai Old Soget	M-20	Farmer	28-12-93
98	Lamhen Old Soget	M-20	Farmer	28-12-93
99	Themnei Phanjang	F-23	Farmer	10-1-94
100	Nemsi Phanjang	F-25	Farmer	10-1-94
101	Themnei Phanjang	F-24	Farmer	10-1-94
102	L. Haokip Phek	M-35	Driver	17-1-94

103	Sehjang Lhouvum	M-40	Farmer	22-1-94
104	Nengchong Bongkolong	F-38	Farmer	22-1-94
105	Hellun Bongkolong	M-20	Farmer	21-1-94
106	Lengin Lhouvum	M-13	Student	21-1-94
107	Thanglet Hangsing	M-7	Stdnt/Minor	21-1-94
108	NengjaneiHangsing	F-5	Minor	21-1-94
109	Veikholam Hangsing	F-46	Farmer	21-1-94
110	Seingam Hangsing	M-25	Farmer	22-1-94
111	Haomang Hangsing	M-21	Farmer	22-1-94
112	Thangtinsat Bongkolong	M-8	Minor/Student	21-1-94
113	Nengtinlhing Bongkolong	M-6	Minor	21-1-94
114	Thanghen Singson Sirhima	M-49	Evangelist	15-12-94
115	Paolun Singson Sirhima	M- 8	Student	15-12-94
116	Minlun Sirhima	M-3	Minor	15-12-94
117	Haokholet Haokip	M-40	OC (NPS)	03-11-94
118	Holngam Bungsang	M-30	Farmer	15-1-94
119	L Haokip Akhen	M-35	Driver	17-1-94
120	Seikholam Bungsang	M-45	Farmer	25-1-94
121	Seijang	M-49	Farmer	26-1-94
122	Nengneichong	F-38	Farmer	26-1-94
123	Hellun	M-20	Student	26-1-94
124	Lenggin	F-13	Student	26-1-94
125	Tongkholet	M-7	Student	26-1-94
126	Nengjavai	F-5	Student	26-1-94

127	Lhammunthang	M-3	Child	26-1-94
128	Veikholam	F-46	Farmer	26-1-94
129	Seingam	M-43	Farmer	26-1-94
130	Haomang	M-21	Student	26-1-94
131	Thangtunsat	M-8	Student	26-1-94
132	Nengtinlhing	F-6	Student	26-1-94
133	Kimneilhing	F-26	Farmer	26-1-94
134	Helngam	M-45	Farmer	10-3-94
135	Kimkhoseh	M-35	Farmer	4-5-94
136	Samson	M-45	Farmer	4-5-94
137	Lhingnethat	F-35	Farmer	4-5-94
138	Seuminthang	M-6	Student	4-5-94
139	Lhaichin	F-30	Attendent	4-5-94
140	Deichong	F-12	Student	4-5-94
141	Kimkholhing	F-70	Farmer	4-5-94
142	Thongnem	F-45	Farmer	4-5-94
143	Kaiseh	M-46	Chf of Village	17-5-94
144	Ngamjang	M-36	Farmer	17-5-94
145	Chungsei	M-37	Farmer	17-5-94
146	Kamboi	M-32	NAP	6-6-94
147	Mangpu	M-30	Driver	6-6-94
148	Kamhen	M-35	Farmer	17-7-94
149	Laljang	M-56	Teacher	8-8-94
150	Khuplal	M-30	Teacher	8-8-94

151	Allaudin	M-32	Taxi Driver	8-8-94
152	Helkam	M-45	Farmer	8-8-94
153	T. K Tungnung	M-45	Dy SP	5-10-94
154	Henkholen	M-35	Farmer	30-10-94
156	Haokholet	M-40	Farmer	4-11-94
157	Henkhohao	M-25	Student	11-12-94
158	Lamkhongam	M-26	Student	11-12-94
159	Heljang Singson	M-70	Chf Sirhima	15-12-94
160	Onthang Haokip	M-50	Medical Insp.	15-12-94
161	Thangkholet	M-19	Driver	15-12-94
162	Paokai Haokip	M-17	Student	15-12-94
163	Henna	M-51	Farmer	15-12-94
164	Thangjalen	M-17	Student	15-12-94
165	Janghen	M-38	Farmer	13-4-95
166	Thangkhohel	M-50	Farmer	13-4-95
167	Thangkam	M-21	Student	23-5-95
168	Vumpao Hangshing	M-55	H A ADC's office	14-6-95
169	Manglal	M-16	Student	17-6-94
170	Henkholun Lhoujem	M-37	Farmer	17 5 94
171	Kaiseh Sitlhou	M-45	Farmer	17 5 94
172	Chonkhosei Lhouvum	M-37	Farmer	17 5 94
173	Thangboi Lenthang	M-32	Farmer	17 5.94
174	Ngamkhojang Haokip	M-52	Farmer	17 5.94
175	Seikhohao Singson	M-22	Farmer	17 5 94

176	Paotnnhen Hmar	M-45	Farmer	17.5.94
177	Henkhokam Hmar	M-35	Farmer	17.5.94
178	Paolam Changsan	M-30	Farmer	17.5.94
179	Janglen Lhouvum	M-34	Farmer	17.5.94

LIST OF KUKIS KILLED BY NSCN (IM) IN MANIPUR:

S.No	Name of the Victim	Age	Place of the occurrences	Year
180	Holkhojang Haokip,	72	T. Molphei, Chandel	12-5-92
181	Lhungkhothang,	70	Pholenching, Chandel	17-5-92
182	Tongkholun	33	Chammu, Ukhrul	26-5-92
183	Onkholet Haokip,	21	H. Bongjang, MRH, Chandel	3-6-92
184	Ngamkhothang Mate,	28	Khangsbum, Chandel	8-9-92
185	Yamkhothang Haokip	18	Pallel-Aimol Rd, Chandel	8-9-92
186	Helkholun Haokip S/o Letkhojam	18	Pallel-Aimol Rd,	8-9-92
187	Hemkholun Haokip, S/o Yampao	17	Pallel-Aimol Rd,	8-9-92
188	Songkhothang	41	Matijang, Ukhrul	13-9-92
189	Jamkhomang Hoakip,	30	Chatrik, Ukhrull	16-9-92
190	Thonghao Lunkim,	60	Khambi, Ukhrul	17-9-92
191	Thongkhojang Haokip	75	Sarbung, Ukhrul	17-9-92
192	Thongkhomang Haokip	25	District Headquarter	17-9-92
193	Ngamkholal	35	District Headquarter	19-9-92
194	Chungsei Haokip, S/o Tongthang	18	Betuk Sangreng,	7-10-92
195	Mangthang Mate, S/o Jamlal	18	Betuk Sangreng,	7-10-92
196	Thanggin Mate S/o Thenmang	17	Betuk Sangreng,	7-10-92
197	Letkhongam Touthang	65	Moltuh, Chandel	8-10-92
198	Mrs Somtin, W/o (L) Vumkhothang	60	Moltuh, Chandel	8-10-92

199	Mrs Lhingkhotin W/o Letkhothang	48	Moltuh	8-10-92
200	Doukhosei Touthang S/o (L) Vumkhothang	28	Moltuh,	8-10-92
201	Mrs Tinkhohoi W/o Doukhosei	20	Moltuh,	8-10-92
202	Baby Tingneng D/o Doukhosei	2 mths	Moltuh, Chandel	8-10-92
203	Chungkhup Haokip	75	Sanaching, Sanapati	14-10-92
204	Jamkhokhai Haokip S/o Chopu	23	Choro, Ukhrul	19-10-92
205	Ngamkhohao Haokip S/o Haokholun	32	Kangshang,	21-11-92
206	Jamkholal Haokip S/o Thangkholet	19	Molvailup, Ukhrul	3-3-93
207	Jamkholet Lupho S/o Haokholun	18	Maipi Mangsom,	22-3-93
208	Jamkhomang Baite S/o Jamkhothang	18	Maipi	22-3-93
209	Paonoh Haokip S/o (L) Otjang	62	Tingkai Khullen	1-4-93
210	Jangsei Haokip, S/o Paonoh	25	Tingkai Khullen,	1-4-93
211	Lamjang Haokip, S/o Ngulnoh	35	Tingkai	1-4-93
212	Jamkhothang Haokip,	26	Tingkai Khullen,	1-4-93
213	Setlam Haokip, S/o Douthang	23	Tingkai Khullen,	1-4-93
214	Henkhoneh Haokip	45	Tingkai Khullen, Sanapati	1-4-93
215	Hemngam Haokip	44	Tingkai Khullen, Sanapati	1-4-93
216	Henkholun Haokip	30	Tingkai Khullen, Sanapati	1-4-93
217	Ngamkhohao Haokip	27	Tingkai Khullen, Sanapati	1-4-93
218	Jangkhotang Baite	40	Loutei Kuki, Ukhrul	5-4-93
219	Thongkholet Baite	33	Loutei Kuki, Ukhrul	5-4-93
220	Tongpao Baite S/o Somjang	36	Loutei Kuki	5-4-93
221	Jangkholun Baite	75	Loutei Kuki, Ukhrul	5-4-93
222	Jamkholal Haokip S/o Thongkholet	18	Molvailpu,	7-4-93
223	Haolal Guite S/o Hemjathang	22	Maphou, Sanapat	7-4-93
224	Henkam Haokip S/o Khupthang	20	Maphou,	7-4-93

225	Holkholet Kipgen, S/o (L) Letsei Phungthar,	Ukhrul		
226	Thangjalum Haokip	40	Samukom, Chandel	7-4-93
227	Paolun Haokip	42	Khaosat, Chandel	7-4-93
228	Mrs Nengthing Haokip W/o Paolun	30	Khaosat	7-4-93
229	Mrs Lhaikhoneng D/o Paolun	40	Khaosat, Chandel	7-4-93
230	Lunkhojang Haokip,	36	Bongbal Khulen, Sanapati	7-4-93
231	Mrs Nengjatin Kipgen W/o (L) Jamchon	48	Bongbal Khulen	9-4-93
232	Jangkholun Haokip	80	Leihaopokpi, Sanapati	13-4-93
233	Lunjalet Touthang, S/o Ngamthang	35	Leihaopokpi,	13-4-93
234	Paolet Touthang S/o Ngamthang	18	Leihaopokpi,	13-4-93
235	Chungkhojang Baite, S/o (L) Ngulhel	35	Leihaopokpi,	13-4-93
235	Tongsei Haokip	60	Near Sansak, Ukhrul	13-4-93
236	Khailal Haokip S/o Tongsei	18	Near Sansak	13-4-93
237	Douse: Mate	35	Near Lokchao River	14-4-93
238	Lhunkhothang Haokip	72	Near Puram Pantha	17-4-92
239	Haopu Haokip	35	Near Puram Pantha	17-4-92
240	Ngamhao Mate	60	Sita, Chandel	18-4-93
241	Sothang Haokip	60	Sita, Chandel	18-4-93
242	Jamkhothang Bolsom	37	Sita, Chandel	18-4-93
243	Leukhothang Bolsom	60	Sita, Chandel	18-4-93
244	Lunminthang Lupho	7	Sita, Chandel	18-4-93
245	Hemlun Lupho	70	Sita, Chandel	18-4-93
246	Baby Hatneikim Lhungdim	4	Bongli, Chandel	19-4-93
247	Baby Seiginkhup Lhungdim	2	Bongli, Chandel	19-4-93
248	Baby Vahjahat Touthang	6	Bongli, Chandel	19-4-93
249	Baby Nengjachin Touthang	3	Bongli, Chandel	19-4-93
250	Baby Neikhokim Touthang	1	Bongli, Chandel	19-4-93

251	Laikhotong Haokip	90	Tollen, Chandel	21-4-93
252	Lhunkhothang Mate	45	Mankang, Chandel	21-4-93
253	Seminthang Lushei	27	Distrist Headquarter	21-4-93
254	Haopu Kuki	24	Longphailen, Tamenglong	25-4-93
255	Lenkhohao Singsit S/o Sehkhochon	16	Near Barak River,	27-4-93
256	Jamkhosat Doungel	20	Longphailen, Tamenglong	27-4-93
257	Deivah Baite, D/o Onjang	18	Gelyang, Chandel	3-5-93
258	Jamkhothang Baite,	35	M. Mangsom, Chandel	5-5-92
259	Thangkholal Baite	34	T. Mainou, Chandel	5-5-92
260	Major (Retd.) Pagin Kipgen	53	Deaulahland Imphal	9-5-93
261	Holkhojang S/o Jem-ot	72	T. Molphei Chandel	12-5-93
262	Tongmang	22	Yaingangpokpi, Sanapati	13-5-93
263	Lhunkhothang Haokip	70	Pheilenching, Chandel	17-5-93
264	Tuanzasuan Zou S/o Nengjatun	37	Ukhrul Town	17-5-93
265	Thangpao Lupho S/o Jangpao	12	Chaotong	19-5-93
266	Kholhat Haokip D/o Lunkhongam	14	Chaotong,	19-5-93
267	Mrs Hoilhing Lupho W/o Ngamjang	40	Chaotong	19-5-93
268	Sokhojang Gangte	47	Near Theimol Hillock,	21-5-93
269	Thangkam Lunkim	46	Near Theimol Hillock,	21-5-93
270	Goukhomang Kipgen	30	Hangok Lok, Sanapati	22-5-93
271	Mrs Themjalhing	60	T. Phaijang, Ukhrul	26-5-93
272	Mrs Themvah W/o Chief of Nongdam	50	Nongdam Kuki,	27-5-93
273	Onkhothang Haokip	40	Tonsen Lamkhai,Sugnu Road	7-6-92
274	Thonglet Kipgen	40	Bongbal Khullen, Sanapati	8-6-93
275	Seikholhu Kipgen,	25	Bongbal Khullen, Sanapati	8-6-93
276	Jakhothang Kipgen	90	Bongbal Khullen, Sanapati	8-6-93
277	Khupkholet Kipgen,	15	Bongbal Khullen, Sanapati	

278	Miss Chinkhohoi Kipgen D o Paojathang	10	Bongbal Khullen	8-6-93
279	Holthang	40	Chaningpokpi, Sanapati	18-6-93
280	Miss Tinkhokim	25	Chaningpokpi, Sanapati	18-6-93
281	Miss Tinkhochong	20	Chaningpokpi, Sanapati	18-6-93
282	Seingam	25	Chaningpokpi, Sanapati	18-6-93
283	Baby Ngaitinkim Haokip D o Khaimang	1-1 2	Aishi,	27-6-93
284	Sehkhothang Lupheng	29	Maphou Dam, Sanapati	22-6-93
285	Khothang Kipgen, Chief of Tujang	54	Senapati Town	27-6-93
286	Paolun Lupho	45	Laipham Sita Rd , Chandel	29-6-93
287	Mrs Nenglhing Lupho, W o Paolun	35	Laipham Sita Rd.	29-6-93
288	Laikhonem Lupho	10	Laipham Sita Rd., Chandel	29-6-93
289	Thangjalun Haokip,	40	Laipham Sita Rd., Chandel	9-6-93
290	Paokhosei	33	Moithan, Ukhrul	3-7-93
291	Khupkholet S o Otkhothang	35	Ukhrul Town	11-7-93
292	Chongjathang	55	Finch Corner, Ukhrul	13-7-93
293	Seikhothang S o Thanghao	19	Finch Corner,	13-7-93
294	Thangsien S o Yangdon	19	Sansak Rd , Ukhrul	13-7-93
295	Seimang	17	Sansak Rd , Ukhrul	13-7-93
296	Mrs Chineng Haokip	35	Near Sikibung, Ukhrul	18-7-93
297	Thongkhojang Haokip	55	Near Sikibung, Ukhrul	18-7-93
298	Paokhohao Haokip	1	Near Sikibung, Ukhrul	18-7-93
299	Khatkhose Haokip	60	Mulam, Sadar Hills	6-8-93
300	Jamkhothang Haokip	62	Mulam, Sadar Hills	6-8-93
301	Jamngam Haokip	40	Mulam, Sadar Hills	6-8-93
302	Tongjanei Tuboi	50	Near Sikibung, Ukhrul	6-8-93
303	Thanglun Haokip	20	Near Sikibung, Ukhrul	6-8-93
304	Paokhup	15	Mulam, Sadar Hills	6-8-93

305	Thanglenlal	22	Mulam, Sadar Hills	6-8-93
306	Mrs Tinglam	25	Mulam, Sadar Hills	6-8-93
307	Hemboung Chonglor	70	Thingphai, Sadar Hills	6-8-93
308	Lhunsei Chonglor	75	Thingphai, Sadar Hills	6-8-93
309	Thangpao Chonglor	70	Thingphai, Sadar Hills	6-8-93
310	Mrs Kimkhoneng	35	Thingphai, Sadar Hills	6-8-93
311	Nguljalet Chonglor	78	C Khulen, Sadar Hills	6-8-93
312	Lelen Chonglor	58	C Khulen, Sadar Hills	6-8-93
313	Kengnu Chonglor W/o Vumthang	50	C Khulen,	6-8-93
314	Kamchon Hangsing	40	C Khulen, Sadar Hills	6-8-93
315	Neikim Chonglor, D/o Seikhokam	17	C Khulen,	6-8-93
316	Lhingneivah Chonglor, D/o Seikhokam	15	C Khulen,	6-8-93
317	Satkhosei Chonglor S/o Khuppao	16	C Khulen,	6-8-93
318	Mrs Chineilhing Chonglor D/o Seikhopao	19	C Khulen,	6-8-93
319	Baby Hatneilhing Chonglor D/o Vumthang	8	C Khulen,	6-8-93
320	Baby Lunkholen Chonglor D/o Vumthang	6	C Khulen	6-8-93
321	Thangtinlian S/o Vumsei	22	Jangnor Sadar Hills	7-6-93
322	Jangsei Lhungdim	55	Kha ongching, Sadar Hill	7-6-93
323	Jangsei Lhungdim	27	Khalongching, Sadar Hill	7-6-93
324	Mrs Veikhoning W o (L) Paokhosei	27	Khalongching	7-6-93
325	Veikhotin	25	Khalongching, Sadar Hill	7-6-93
326	Miss Veikhohoi D/o (L) Paokhosei	28	Khalongching,	7-6-93
327	Mrs Veinem Lhungdim	30	Khalongching	7-6-93
328	Miss Dunlhing Lhungdim	19	Khalongching,	7-6-93
329	Miss Nengjalam Lhungdim	20	Khalongching	7-6-93
330	Miss Nemneithem Lhungdim	1-1 2	Khalongching,	7-6-93
331	Mrs Nengneilhing Lhungdim	43	Khalongching, Sadar Hills	7-6-93

332	Mrs. Lhingkhonem Lhungdim	45	Khalongching	7-6-93
333	Baby Mercy	2 weeks	Khalongching,	7-6-93
334	Baby Bonu	1weeks	Khalongching,	7-6-93
335	Sonlet Kilong	30	Noney Bazar, Tamenglong	20-8-93
336	Chungam Haokip	24	Noney Bazar, Tamenglong	20-8-93
337	Helpao Haokip	27	Noney Bazar, Tamenglong	20-8-93
338	Thanggin	21	Noney Bazar, Tamenglong	20-8-93
339	Ngamsei Baite	35	Lamkang Khunou, Chandel	23-8-93
340	Jamkhoson Haokip	70	Lamkang Khunou, Chande	23-8-93
341	Jamthang Haokip	65	Lamkang Khunou, Chandel	23-8-93
342	Soot Haokip	50	Lamkang Khunou, Chandel	23-8-93
343	Hemmang Lenthang	60	Tingjang, Tamenglong	27-8-93
344	Seijang Haokip	42	Tingjangl, Tamenglong	31-8-93
345	Rohlunthang Hmar	22	Saidan, Churachandpur	31-8-93
346	Laihonghan Hmar	25	Saidan, Churachandpur	31-8-93
347	Paokhoneh Kipgen	65	Khonglung, Tamenglong	31-8-93
348	Seikhojam Kipgen	27	Khonglung, Tamenglong	1-9-93
349	Jangkai Kipgen	20	Khonglung, Tamenglong	1-9-93
350	Haokholet Kipgen	20	Khonglung, Tamenglong	1-9-93
351	Malpuk Gangte	27	Molcham, Tamenglong	1-9-91
352	Khuplam Dimngel	35	Near Tamei, Zoupi	13-9-93
353	Paolam Hangshing	57	Near Tamei, Zoupi	13-9-93
354	Lunchon Haokip	57	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
355	Tongpi Haokip	70	Near Tamei, Zoupi	13-9-93
356	Kamsei Mangzel	65	Near Tamei, Zoupi	13-9-93
357	Sabsem Kipgen	53	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
358	Lamsei Hangshing	45	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93

359	Schmin Hangshing	32	Near Tamei, Zoupi	13-9-93
360	Seikhothang Hangshing	22	NearTamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
361	Seilen Hangshing	25	Near Tamei, Zoupi	13-9-93
362	Sehpao Lhanghal	50	Near Tamei, Zoupi	13-9-93
363	Lamseh Hangshing	53	Near Tamei, Zoupi	13-9-93
364	Paochon Hangshing	40	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
365	Seingam Hangshing	46	Near Tamei, Zoupi	13-9-93
366	Lalchin Lhangum	27	Near Tamei, Zoupi	13-9-93
367	Holkhohen Lhouvum	29	Near Tamei, Zoupi	13-9-93
368	Nehhao Hangshing	50	Near Tamei, Zoupi	13-9-93
369	Thangjang Hangshing	50	Near Tamei, Zoupi	13-9-93
370	Paongam Hangshing	38	Near Tamei, Zoupi	13-9-93
371	Semkholal Hangshing	43	Near Tamei, Zoupi	13-9-93
372	Paolen Hangshing	23	Near Tamei, Zoupi	13-9-93
373	Lunjapao Chongloi	35	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
374	Kammunlun Hangshing	27	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
375	Lalhen Haokip	26	Near Tamei, Zoupi	13-9-93
376	Haokholun Lhouvum	27	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
377	Paolun Dimngel	25	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
378	Paolet Hangshing	34	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
379	Doupao Dimngel	25	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
380	Sehthang Dimngel	53	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
381	Songchon Lhanghal	45	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
382	Lhouleng Kholbou	85	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
383	Seimang Dimngel	22	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
384	Lamjang Lhanghal	30	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
385	Lamlal Haokip	25	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	

386	Lamthang Haokip	23	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
387	Thangkhohao Singsit	34	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
388	Letchon Singsit	30	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
389	Hengngam Singsit	26	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
390	Helhat Hangshing	37	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
391	Sehlun Chonglor	23	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
392	Chungngam Chonglor	32	Near Tamei, Zoupi	13-9-93
393	Letpao Chonglor	30	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
394	Thangseh Chonglor	25	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
395	Satjang Chonglor	22	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
396	Khupkam Lenthang	80	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
397	Lalpao Hangshing	37	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
398	Lamhen Hangshing	20	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
399	Jangngam Haokip	30	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
400	Ngulseh Lhouvum	35	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
401	Sehkhojang Kholhou	50	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
402	Haokholal Kipgen	24	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
403	Latkholal Hangshing	30	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
404	Lamkhoben Haokip	26	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
405	Henkholun Lhanghal	48	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
406	Hemthang Lenthang	86	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
407	Samthang Hangshing	34	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
408	Khupngam Hangshing	29	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
409	Semchon Dumngel	37	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
410	Paomang Dumngel	80	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
411	Ngamkam Sitlhou	40	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
412	Khupngam Kipgen	28	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93

413	Demkholam Hangshing	30	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
414	Thenkhojang Singsit	48	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
415	Sehkomang Singsit	16	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
416	Lamminla Singsit	14	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
417	Sehkhokam Singsit	32	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
418	Songkai Lhanghal	30	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
419	Thangjahao Lhanghal	25	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
420	Lumjang Haokip	33	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
421	Henkholal Hangshing	28	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
422	Pagin Kipgen	20	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
423	Haokai Hangshing	8-1/2	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
424	Lenkhopao Dumngel	14	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
425	Thankholun Hangshing	28	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
426	Lhoukholal Kholhou	21	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
427	Satngam Chonglor	18	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
428	Lenkhopao Haokip	45	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
429	Lalkholam Haokip	28	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
430	Mrs Phakim Haokip	48	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
431	Lallam Haokip	28	Near Tamei, Zoupi	13-9-93
432	Henkhogin Singsit	28	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
433	Lamkhopao Hangshing	22	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
434	Thangmang Singsit	25	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
435	Thangkhosei Doungel	32	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
436	Lalkhojang Singsit	45	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
437	Chungkhojang Singsit	17	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
438	Lammang Hangshing	22	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93
439	Lunlam Singsit	95	Near Tamei, Zoupi,	13-9-93

440	Mrs Lhingneng	68	Gelnel, Sadar Hills	
441	Mrs Lhingkholam	47	Gelnel, Sadar Hills	13-9-93
442	Ms Veineithai	8	Gelnel Sadar Hills	13-9-93
443	Miss Lhingneithem	4	Gelnel, Sadar Hills	13-9-93
444	Mrs Dimkholam Kilong	48	Gelnel, Sadar Hills	13-9-93
445	Miss Dimkhohat	28	Gelnel, Sadar Hills	13-9-93
446	Miss Konneithem	22	Gelnel, Sadar Hills	13-9-93
447	Ngamlet	2	Gelnel, Sadar Hills	13-9-93
448	Lammang	4	Gelnel, Sadar Hills	13-9-93
449	Mrs Nemhat	32	Gelnel, Sadar Hills	13-9-93
450	Nengtinchong	6	Gelnel, Sadar Hills	13-9-93
451	Nehla	60	Gelnel, Sadar Hills	13-9-93
452	Lalchunglen	3	Gelnel, Sadar Hills	13-9-93
453	Mrs Horkhohat	30	Santing, Sadar Hills	13-9-93
454	Miss Hatnengi	22	Santing, Sadar Hills	13-9-93
455	Miss Nemneikim Lupheng	25	Santing, Sadar Hills	13-9-93
456	Baby Hoingah	6 mths	Santing, Sadar Hills	13-9-93
457	Seikhokai Singsit	45	Nungthut, Tamenglong	13-9-93
458	Thangtinlun Singsit	26	Nungthut, Tamenglong	13-9-93
459	Ngamkhosai Singsit	28	Nungthut, Tamenglong	13-9-93
460	Letboi Lhouvum	3	Taloulong, Tamenglong	19-9-93
461	Baby Paolenlal Lhouvum	1	Taloulong, Tamenglong	19-9-93
462	Haolunlal Kipgen	2	Taloulong, Tamenglong	19-9-93
463	Baby Tongkhohao Kipgen	1	Taloulong, Tamenglong	19-9-93
464	Ngulkhohen Singsit	3	Taloulong, Tamenglong	19-9-93
465	Ngamcha Lhouvum	2	Taloulong, Tamenglong	19-9-93
466	Hentinlal Sitlhou	3	Taloulong, Tamenglong	19-9-93

467	Baby Hengouthang Sitlhou	1	Taloulong, Tamenglong	19-9-93
468	Baby Mangtinkai Sitlhou	1	Taloulong, Tamenglong	19-9-93
469	Phyalneichong Sitlhou	4	Taloulong, Tamenglong	19-9-93
470	Baby Paokholun Singsit	1	Taloulong Tamenglong	19-9-93
471	Baby Lenminthang Lhouvum	2	Taloulong, Tamenglong	19-9-93
472	Baby Paogoumang Sitlhou	2	Taloulong, Tamenglong	19-9-93
473	Baby Paogoulen Lhouvum	2	Taloulong Transit Camp,	19-9-93
474	Baby Satminlun Singsit	1	Taloulong Transit Camp,	19-9-93
475	Paoset Haokip	25	Paddyfield (Kuraopokpi)	12-9-93
476	Lhunsei	70	C Mouljoi, Senapati	29-9-93
477	Mrs Nemjahat	60	C Mouljoi, Senapati	29-9-93
478	Letkam	40	C Mouljoi Senapati	29-9-93
479	Mrs Lhingneilam	32	C Mouljoi Senapati	29-9-93
480	Mrs Vahnem	60	C Mouljoi, Senapati	29-9-93
481	Lhingkhonei D/o Letkam	6	C Mouljoi Senapati	29-9-93
482	Homeikim D/o Letkam	3	C Mouljoi Senapati	29-9-93
483	Baby Hatneikim D/o Letkam	1	C Mouljoi Senapati	29-9-93
484	MissLamkhokim D/oThanglun	15	C Moulj[illegible]	29-9-93
485	Miss Tinkhohoi D/o Thangkam	10	C Moulioi	2-10-93
486	Khothang Kipgen	65	Senapati Bazar	5-10-93
487	Baby Sangga	2	Sangka Ukhru	5-10-93
488	Haolkholun Lhouvum	16	Scheibung Senapati	6-10-93
489	Letngam Lhouvum	24	Ma[illegible]gate Senapati	6-10-93
490	Letngam Lhouvum	25	Maogate Senapati	7-10-93
491	Ngamsei Haokip	35	Lokchao Kotcng	9-10-93
492	Holkhomang S/o Holjang	32	T Gamnon	9-10-93
493	Thangjalet S/o Holjang	19	T Gamnon	

494	Thangjakap	27	T. Gamnon, Churachandpur	9-10-93
495	Jamkhomang Haokip	67	Paddy Field, Ukhrul	10-10-93
496	Mrs Tongnem	51	Paddy Field, Ukhrul	10-10-93
497	Jakhoneh s/o Tolkhothang	67	Joujangtek, Village	13-10-93
498	Paokam	56	Jangnoi, Sanapati	21-10-93
499	Paulun S/o Chengjangul	30	Turibari, Senapati	20-11-93
500	Tongmang Haokip Letkholun	24	Molphei,	20-11-93
501	Jamandar Ngamsei	53	Inside Ukhrul	24-11-93
502	Demkhothang Kipgen	72	Bongbal Khullen,	24-11-93
503	Mrs Hoikhokim Kipgen	50	Bongbal Khullen,Sadar Hills	24-11-93
504	Mrs Lhingkhochin	65	Bongbal Khullen,Sadar Hlls	24-11-93
505	Kamjaneh Haokip	19	Near Loktak, Lokchao	4-12-93
506	Mrs Thangjahoi Kom	95	Lower Kom Keirap,	4-12-93
507	Lunkhothang S/o Lunkhohen	23	Mapao, Near Lasan,	4-12-93
508	Satsei Kipgen	40	Songlung Lamkhai	10-12-93
509	Thangam Kipgen	16	Songlung Lamkhai	10-12-93
510	Tongsat	24	Litan, Ukhrul	7-12-93
511	Paothang	28	Litan, Ukhrul	7-12-93
512	Thong S/o Khupneh	25	Maphou, Sadar Hills	4-12-93
513	Tollensong Kom	36	Lower Kom Keirap	20-12-93
514	Paokhothang	25	Saichang, Senapati	22-10-93
515	Chonglol	40	Haijang, Sadar Hills	23-12-93
516	Thangpu Kom	28	Kha Aimok, Sadar Hills	28-12-93
517	John Kom	25	Kha Aimok, Sadar Hills	28-12-93
518	Ngammang Lenthang	20	Chaijang,	17-11-93
519	Onngam	23	Tokpa Kabui, Tamenglong	17-11-93
520	Kamkholen S/o Hempao	17	Jaolen Kuki, Ukhrul	14-1-94

521	Lunkhongam S/o Ngamkhojang	4	Jaolen Kuki, Ukhrul	14-1-94
522	Mrs Seikholhing	50	Yangnoi, Sadar Hills	18-1-94
523	Mrs Lhingvah	40	Yangnoi, Sadar Hills	18-1-94
524	Mrs Khupneng	30	Yangnoi, Sadar Hills	18-1-94
525	Mrs Nemboi	30	Yangnoi, Sadar Hills	18-1-94
526	Miss Chonggi	18	Yangnoi, Sadar Hills	18-1-94
527	Miss Chingthem	19	Yangnoi, Sadar Hills	18-1-94
528	Miss Hatneilhing	14	Yangnoi, Sadar Hills	18-1-94
529	Paolet S/o Tongjalet	24	Daili, Sadar Hills	24-12-93
530	Heang Misao	20	Daili, Sadar Hills	25-1-94
531	Lenkhokhai Kipgen	43	Ngatun, Sadar Hills	7-10-92
532	Jonathan S/o Vungpipa	19	Mao Gate, Sanapati	15-12-93
533	Mrs Otkholhing	65	Songkong, Chandel	25-11-93
534	Kamkholen	17	Jaolen, Ukhrul	14-1-94
535	Ginthang	9	Jaolen, Ukhrul	14-1-94
536	Seikholhing Chonglol	64	Selsi Phai Sadar Hills	18-1-94
537	Lhingkhovoh Chonglol	50	Selsi Phai Sadar Hills	18-1-94
538	Khulneng Kipgen	35	Selsi Phai Sadar, Hills	18-1-94
539	Nemboi Doungel	32	Selsi Phai Sadar, Hills	18-1-94
540	Chinthem Chonglol	18	Selsi Phai Sadar, Hills	18-1-94
541	Nemneichong Chonglol	17	Selsi Phai, Sadar Hills	18-1-94
542	Hatneilhing Hangshing	11	Selsi Phai, Sadar Hills	18-1-94
543	Seikhogin Chonglol	20	Selsi Phai, Sadar Hills	8-3-94
544	Paothang Haokip	40	Lhangsom	14-5-94
545	Paokholet Sitlhou	45	Sipimol, Tamenglong	14-5-94
546	Hatkim Sitlhou	40	Sipimol, Tamenglong	14-5-94
547	Thangja Sitlhou	12	Sipimol, Tamenglong	

548	Lamkholen Sitlhou	2	Sipimol, Tamenglong	
549	Hemgou Sitlhou	31	Sipimol, Tamenglong	14-5-94
550	Veiboi Sitlhou	34	Sipimol, Tamenglong	14-5-94
551	Ngulkhohao Haolai	45	Sipimol, Tamenglong	14-5-94
552	Veitinneng Haolai	40	Sipimol, Tamenglong	14-5-94
553	Nengneikhol Haolai	12	Sipimol, Tamenglong	14-5-94
554	Nengneiphal Haolai	7	Sipimol, Tamenglong	14-5-94
555	Lhunchung Sitlhou	8	Sipimol, Tamenglong	14-5-94
556	Neikhochin Sitlhou	6	Sipimol, Tamenglong	14-5-94
557	Paominthang Sitlhou	5	Sipimol, Tamenglong	14-5-94
558	Ngahneng	40	Sipimol, Tamenglong	14-5-94
559	Lalnemlhing Sitlhou	27	Sipimol, Tamenglong	14-5-94
560	Lutneh Haokip	35	Laijang, Tamenglong	8-8-94
561	Douset Haokip	30	Laijang, Tamenglong	8-8-94
562	Thangmang Haokip	18	Umathel	20-8-94
563	Khaithong Touthang	16	Umathel	20-8-94
564	Holkhokam Chonglot	45	Thonglang, Sadar Hills	21-7-94
565	Lenkhothang Haokip	60	Thonglang, Sadar Hills	21-7-94
566	Dongkhopao Misao	40	Thonglang, Sadar Hills	21-7-94
567	Jangkhokhai Kipgen	18	Thonglang, Sadar Hills	21-7-94
568	Kimlhai Haokip	45	Thonglang, Sadar Hills	21-7-94
569	Sokhokam Kipgen	20	Thonglang, Sadar Hills	21-7-94
570	Nenglen Kipgen	46	Thonglang, Sadar Hills	21-7-94
571	Sehmang Kipgen	27	Thonglang, Sadar Hills	21-7-94
572	Nemneichong Kipgen	35	Thonglang, Sadar Hills	21-7-94
573	Chinneihat Kipgen	8	Thonglang, Sadar Hills	21-7-94
574	Satginmang Kipgen	6	Thonglang, Sadar Hills	21-7-94

575	Lalkholen Thangeo	60	Impha Town	8-10-94
576	Jamtil	65	Tollen, Chandel	24-10-94
577	Heikhopao Touthang	35	Tollen, Chandel	24-10-94
578	Onkhothang Haokip	62	Pallel, Chandel	16-11-94
579	Chinnenthem Haokip	2	Pallel, Chandel	16-11-94
580	Chungpao Haokip	50	Thingsan, Chandel	16-11-94
581	Leokhopao Haokip	50	Thingsan, Chandel	19-11-94
582	Chunglum Haokip	50	Thingsan, Chandel	19-11-94
583	Lutlet Haokip	30	Thingsan, Chandel	19-11-94
584	Solet Haokip	35	Thingsan, Chandel	19-11-94
585	Lumngam Haokip	60	Thingsan, Chandel	19-11-94
586	Holkholal Haokip	25	Thingsan, Chandel	19-11-94
587	Thanglet Haokip	18	Thingsan, Chandel	19-11-94
588	Ginlun Haokip	17	Thingsan, Chandel	19-11-94
589	Holngam Haokip	21	Thingsan, Chandel	19-11-94
590	Holmang Haokip	21	Thingsan, Chandel	19-11-94
591	Ongin Haokip	60	Thingsan, Chandel	19-11-94
592	Onset Haokip	56	Thingsan, Chandel	19-11-94
593	Halkhojam Haokip	35	Thingsan, Chande	19-11-94
594	Lumjatong Haokip	33	Thingsan, Chandel	19-11-94
595	Onthong Haokip	80	Thingsan, Chandel	19-11-94
596	Onthong 2nd Haokip	21	Thingsan, Chandel	19-11-94
597	Thangset Haokip	30	Thingsan, Chande	19-11-94
598	Lunset Haokip	25	Thingsan, Chandel	19-11-94
599	Jamthong Haokip	22	Thingsan, Chandel	19-11-94
600	Thonglal Haokip	13	Thingsan, Chandel	19-11-94
601	Chungngam Haokip	25	Thingsan, Chandel	

602	Douset Haokip	35	Thingsan, Chandel	
603	Helson Haokip	40	Thingsan, Chandel	19-11-94
604	Thongkhomang Haokip	80	Thingsan, Chandel	19-11-94
605	Lunkhopao Singson	70	Near Leikot	19-11-94
606	Nehkhoset Singson	30	Near Leikot	17-12-94
607	Thangkhoset Touthang	27	Samapang, Ukhrul	17-12-94
608	Lunkam Kipgen	50	Haipi, Sadar Hills	23-12-94
609	Vetjahat Vaipher	40	Haipi, Sadar Hills	1-1-95
610	Hatneilhing Kipgen	32	Haipi, Sadar Hills	1-1-95
611	Letjakim Kipgen	35	Haipi, Sadar Hills	1-1-95
612	Paokholal Kipgen	8	Haipi, Sadar Hills	1-1-95
613	Sonne thang Paite	58	Mao	1-1-95
614	Thongkholun Haokip	20	Serou Bazar	3-1-95
615	Lamkhosat Chonglot	18	Awangkhul	3-1-95
616	Lunbot	11	Loktak Project	31-1-95
617	Jangkholam	60	Khaochangbung.	31-1-95
618	Lenkhoapo Gangte	45	Khaochangbung.	16-9-93
619	Paokhothang Gangte	40	Khaochangbung.	16-9-93
620	Mrs Domlhing Haokip	30	Thanglongbung, Sanapati	16-9-93
621	Nemneichong D.o Songkai Hkp	3	Thanglongbung.	29-9-93
622	Thangjamang Haokip	1	Thanglongbung. Sanapati	29-9-93
623	Mrs Tingnem Haokip	45	Mulam, Ukhrul	29-9-93
624	Henngoh Haokip s.o Paolun	33	Aigejang, Senapati	8-10-93
625	Ngamkholun Haokip	32	Aigejang Senapati	8-10-93
626	S L Haoneh S.o Haokholen	19	Motbung, Sadar Hills	8-10-93
627	Somang Lupheng	45	Maphou, Sadar Hills	13-10-93
628	Chungpao Tuboi	35	Chaljang, Sadar Hills	14-10-93
629	Laikholam Chonglot	28	Chaljang, Sadar Hills	21-10-93
630	Holkhothang Kipgen	61	W Songjang, Sadar Hills	9-11-93
631	Thangtinlen Kipgen	4	W.Songjang, Sadar Hills	9-11-93
632	M/s Vahneilhing	2	W Songjang, Sadar Hills	9-11-93
633	Ngamkholun Thadou	28	Govajang, Tengnoupal	9-11-93
634	Ngangam Lenthang	20	Phaibung, Churachandpur	17-11-93
635	Seijakhup	25	Molkon, Sadar Hills	4-8-94
636	S L Letkholen Lhouvum	48	Motbung, Sadar Hills	19-9-94
637	Holkhothang Baite,	52	Cf Of Mongbung,	12-11-94
638	Tongkholal Lhungdim	27	Canan Veng, Moreh	26-11-94
639	Ngamhao Lhungdim	22	Dampi, Churachandpur	12-12-94
640	Arnte Kom	28	Khonompha, Churachandpur	12-12-94

LIST OF KUKIS KILLED BY NSCN(IM) IN ASSAM

641	Vuma Singsit	60 Nivang, North Cachar, Assam	1992
642	Asat Chomgloi	37 Chehlet, NC Hills, Assam	1994
643	Henkholun Lhoujem	35 Molkhang, Assam	18-5-94
644	Chungkhoset Lhoujem	32 Molkhang, Assam	18-5-94
645	Seiyang Lhouvum	30 Molkhang Assam	18-5-94
646	Janglen Lhouvum	27 Molkhang, Assam	18-5-94
647	Kaiseh Sitlhou	45 Molkhang Assam	18-5-94
648	Ngamkhothang Haokip	50 Molkhang, Assam	18-5-94
649	Thangboi Lenthang	22 Molpil, Assam	22-5-94
650	Kamkhohen Singsit	2 Nivang Assam	22-8-94
651	Pautinhen Inbuon (Hmar)	60 Thingvom Assam	22-8-94
652	Kamkhohao Hrangte (Hmar)	35 Thingvom Assam	

653	Paolam Lhouvum	50 Lhungjang, Assam	
654	Lungthang Chonglor	28 Chelei, Assam	22-8-94
655	Lamkhohen Chonglor	38 Nakhojou, Assam	22-8-94
656	Paokholen Changsan	28 PT Leikeh, Assam	06-11-95
657	Lenmeithang Hmar	30 PT Leikeh, Assam	12-4-96
658	Thangkhomang Doungel	42 Khobul, Assam	12-4-95
659	Mangkhohao Changsan	25 Thingvom, Assam	4-6-96
660	Haokhoseh Changsan	26 Thingvom, Assam	13-5-97
661	Lunkhosem Changsan	24 Khobul, NC Hills	13-5-97
			13-5-97

LIST OF KUKIS KILLED BY NSCN (IM) IN MANIPUR:

662	Thangkholun Haokip	20 Serou Bazar, Chandel	3-1-95
663	Kamkhosut Chonglor	18 Awangkhu, Ukhrul	31-1-95
664	Dongkhai	40 Tingkai, Sadar Hills	19-4-95
665	Jamkhokhai	45 Vakonejang, Chandel	15-3-95
669	Tinkholam Matc	17 Teijang, Chandel	15-3-95
670	Hollal Misao	35 Nongdam, SadarHills	16-3-94
671	Thongkholam	12 Thingka, Sadar Hillsı	19-4-95
672	Thangminlal	6 Thingka, Sadar Hillsı	19-4-95
673	Mrs Lhailam Haokip	52 K Mollen	5-4-95
674	Thonghen Haokip	28 K Mollen	5-4-95
675	Hengin Haolai	30 K Mollen	5-4-95
676	Thangminlen Haokip	6 Tingkai, Sadar Hills	8-4-95
677	Lhangkhothang	30 Mokeng	24-4-95
678	Genkholam	20 Khunthak	24-4-95
679	Kamsei Misao	49 Moirang	29-4-95
680	L Lianh Paite	22 Moirang	29-4-95

681	Khulam Gangte	60 Kharam Vaiphei, Sadar Hills	3-5-95
682	Lenkhothang Chonglor	60 Taphou, Sadar Hills	10-5-95
683	Mrs Phaljahat Chonglor	40 Taphou, Sadar Hills	10-5-95
684	Mrs Kimneithing Chonglor	35 Taphou, Sadar Hills	10-5-95
685	Ms Ngaineithing Chonglor	22 Taphou, Sadar Hills	10-5-95
686	Khatkhothang Guite	60 Mombi (Lonpi),Chandel	26-5-95
687	PR Sanson Chothe	42 Chothe Khunou, Chandel	7-6-93
688	Athang Kom	25 Senapati	22-5-95
689	Khatkhothang Guite	60 Near Longpi Village	26-5-95
690	Richard Anal	34 Chandel	
691	Seikhongam Kipgen	70 Moljol Kangpokpi	30-5-95
692	Jamkhongam Touthang	36 Chandel HQ	31-5-95
693	Lhunbong	20 Tamei, Tamenglong	2-6-95
694	Paokhogam Doungel	42 Tamei, Tamenglong	2-6-95
695	Lalminlen Kipgen	27 Tamei, Tamenglong	2-6-95
696	Khupao Kilong	40 Near Kotjim Village	6-6-95
697	Mrs Lhingkhovah Haokip	78 Kotjim Village	12-6-95
698	Ms Chinkholhing Tuboi	26 Kotjim Village	12-6-95
699	Paomonlal	1-12 Kotjim Village	12-6-95
700	Thankholal Singson	30 Tamenglong	14-6-95
701	Seikhothang Kuki	19 Near Jenang, Chandel	19-6-95
702	Kamkholal	28 Near Senjang Village	19-6-95
703	Shomi Chiru	23	20-6-95
704	Lamkholun Kipgen	25 Near Kangpokpi	22-6-95
705	Lamkholet	16 Near Kangpokpi,Sadar Hills	22-6-95
706	Khailet	29 Mana Ingkhol	23-6-95
707	Sonkovan	30	23-6-95

708	Lhunkhothoong Hangshing	46 Senapati Town	
709	Onkhonoh Haokip	37 Senapati Town	26-6-95
710	Thanggin Haokip	14 Senapati Town	7-7-95
711	Hengkhojang	10 Senapati Town	7-7-95
712	Tongkholet	89 Haika, Chandel	7-7-95
713	Tongpao	40 Loibol Village	10-7-95
714	Hengou Gangte	22 Khumanlampak, Imphal	26-7-95
715	Paogam Haokip	23 Tuibari, IT Road	11-8-95
716	Thangminlal Haokip	21 Tuibari, IT Road	11-8-95
717	Paongam Gutte	37 Tuibari, IT Road	11-8-95
718	Lunkhogam Sdingson	30 Kangpokpi-Imphal	25-8-95
719	Janglun Touthang	60 Chandel Town	29-8-95
720	Semlun Touthang	30 Chandel Town	29-8-95
721	Holkhosei	50 Chandel Town	29-8-95
722	Tongminthang Tuboi	21 Senapati Town	3-9-95
723	Sehkhopao Kipgen	42 Phaibong, Churachandpur	6-9-95
724	Doujamang Mante	29 Haika, Chandel	18-9-95
725	Seikhopao	50 Near Lasan, Tamenglong	22-9-95
726	Lamkholun	35 Near Lasan, Tamenglong	22-9-95
727	Laikholun	26 Near Lasan, Tamenglong	22-9-95
728	Khomjaang Lenthang	40 Senapati	2-10-95
729	Paothang	27 Senapati	2-10-95
730	Khatlum	41 Chandel	25-10-95
731	Vumpao Haokip	30 Chandel	4-11-95
732	Lamkhomang Singsit	23 Haijol, Sadar Hills	9-11-95
733	Monghat Baite	40 Haolenphai	2-12-95
734	Jangkholun Baite	18 Haolenphai	2-12-95

735	Tongkhosei Haokip	38 Haolenphai	2-12-95
736	Semkholal Kipgen	22 Near Makhen,Sadar Hills	13-12-95
737	Demkholen Haokip	27 Makot & Chadrik, Ukhrul	28-12-95
738	Haominthang Kilong	35 Near Taloulong,	30-12-95
739	Lhingkhovah	40 Chingphei-Panjang	24-1-96
740	Holkhoseh Singsit	60 Buning, Tamenglong	24-1-96
741	Mamngul Kipgen	80 Buning, Tamenglong	24-1-96
742	Jangsei Lhungdim	50 Chipilok	25-1-96
743	Jamkholal	20 Chipilok	25-1-96
744	Seikholen Lhungdim	15 Chipilok	25-1-96
745	Kamkholal	18 Chipilok	25-1-96

LIST OF KUKIS KILLED BY INDIAN SECURITY FORCES

746	Mrs Hatkho Touthang	35 Paikho, Ukhrul	25-1-96
747	Mrs Lhaijaneng	42 Paikho, Ukhrul	25-1-96
748	Mr. Othkhojam Touthang	57 Paikho, Ukhrul	25-1-96
749	Mr. Otpao Touthang	37 Paikho, Ukhrul	25-1-96
750	Mr. Jangpao Lupho	23 Chandel Town	
751	Mr. Tongminthang Tuboi	21 Tuibari, Sadar Hills	3-9-95
752	Mr Sonkhojang Mate	42 Moreh, Chandel	6-6-95
753	Mr Tongsei Haokip	35 Moreh, Chandel	6-6-95
754	Mrs. Neinu Touthang	25 Moreh, Chandel	6-6-95
755	Mr. Kaikholun Haokip	20 Moreh, Chandel	6-6-95
756	Mr Mangpu Zou	55 Moreh, Chandel	6-6-95
757	Mr Paotil Haokip	21 Mongbung	8-11-95
758	Mr Kh. Janglal	26 Sehao, Chandel	8-11-95
759	Mr. Semunthang Haokip	23 Sehao, Chandel	18-11-95

760	Mr Lunkhomang Touthang	18	Mongbung, Chandel	18-11-95
761	Mr Thongkhohao Lhungdim	19	G.Songgel,	18-11-95
762	Mr Silas Lunkhomang	20	N Jilphai, Sadar Hills	18-11-95
763	Mr Haopu Misao	27	Lhahvom, Chur	18-11-95
764	Mr Thangkhomang Guite	28	Sadar Hills	18-11-95
765	Mr Tongminthang	29	Hengbung, Sadar Hills	18-11-95
766	Mr Haokhoneh Lhouvum	22	Motbung,	18-11-95
767	Mr Lamsei Hangshing	22	Haibung,	18-11-95
768	Mr Seiboi Hangshing	18	Molvom,	18-11-95
769	Mr Jamkhomang Haokip	28	Longga, Chandel	18-11-95
770	Khuman Serto	60	Sagang, Churachandpur	3-7-96
771	Khama Vaiphei	30	Boikot, Churachandpur	1-8-96
772	Mrs Tmkholhmg	28	Sehlon, Chandel	14-8-96
773	Khutinrei Chiru	30	Sagang, Churachandpur	16-10-96
774	Miss Nengkhochong Chonglor	31	Thingphai,	24-3-97
775	Kamkhopao	23	Misao-Lhahvom,	1-4-97
776	Paokholam	38	Saparmaina,Sadar Hills	1-5-97
777	Seknellun Vaiphei	27	Salam Patong,Sadar Hills	15-6-97
778	Soneikam Vaiphei	36	Kamuching, Sadar Hills	15-6-97
779	Miss Neikhokim Haokip	19	Thingkangphai,	12-8-97
780	Haokhothang Singson	20	Zalenphai, Sadar Hills	12-8-97
781	Kamminthang Chonglor	26	Cannan Veng, Imphal	12-8-97
782	Seingam Chonglor	23	Cannan Veng, Imphal	12-8-97
783	Lamminlun Kipgen	16	Thingkangphai,	25-6-97
784	Sonlal Haokip	19	Thingkangphai,	25-6-97
785	Ngamminlen	17	Thingkangphai	25-6-97
786	Satlal	20	Thingkangphai	25-6-97

787	Seipu Kipgen	28	Thingkangphai,	25-6-97
788	Jamsei Haokip	18	Lonpi, Chandel	25-6-97
789	Seingam Touthang	17	Molluh, Chandel	25-6-97
790	K.C Jangmang Haokip	28	Phaimol,	21-8-97
791	Khaikholet Haokip	24	Molcham	30-10-97
792	Ngamkhokai Haolai	54	Haijang,	30-10-97

LIST OF KUKIS KILLED BY NSCN (IM) IN MANIPUR

793	Kamkhogin Singsit	35	Songbem,Senapati	20-4-96
794	Mangshei Singsit	35	Songbem,Senapati	20-4-96
795	Seikholet Singsit	35	Songbem,Senapati	20-4-96
796	Mrs.Lhungkhovah	40	Lanchingnanbi, CCpur	24-1-96
797	Holkhoseh Singsit	60	Buning, Tamenglong	24-1-96
798	Jamngul Kipgen	80	Buning, Tamenglong	24-1-96
799	Jangsei Lhungdim	60	Pihang, Chandel	25-1-96
800	Jamkholal	20	Pihang, Chandel	25-1-96
801	Seikholen Lhungdim	15	Pihang, Chandel	25-1-96
802	Jangkhohao	18	Saichang, Senapati	17-2-96
803	Haokhomang	14	Saichang, Senapati	17-2-96
804	Thangpao	13	Saichang, Senapati	17-2-96
805	Miss Martha Vaiphai	16	T. Boljol Village	17-2-96
806	Miss Hatneimeng Hangsing	14	Saikul Bazar,	20-4-96
807	Lamjamang Hangsing	22	Songbem, Senapati	4-5-96
808	Seikam Guite	30	Leikot, Senapati	22-5-96
809	Jamkholet	21	Gomi, Chandel	27-5-96
810	Ginhauthang Paite	38	Rengkai Churachandpur	27-5-96
811	Chinkhotuan Paite	35	Lamka, Churachandpur	

812	Thangjalet Touthang	40	Phaijang, Chandel	
813	Onkam Haokip	65	Tingkai, Senapati	1-6-96
814	Limjang	70	Songbem, Senapati	11-6-96
815	Letkhothang Singsit	34	Songbem, Senapati	14-6-96
816	Thangjapao	45	Thingphai, Chandel	19-6-96
817	Thangjalhing	44	Thingphai, Chandel	10-7-96
818	Yangkhothang	53	Thingphai, Chandel	10-7-96
819	Sehmunlun Gangte	23	Chaljang, Sadar Hills	10-7-96
820	Thangkhongam Chonglor	23	Vakotphai,	19-7-96
821	Doukhohen Touthang	32	T.Khonom	19-7-96
822	Jangkholet Haokip	32	Thinglhangphai,	21-7-96
823	Jamkhopao	27	Thinglhangphai, Chandel	23-7-96
824	Haokholal	24	Lasan, Tamenglong	23-7-96
825	Thangjaiam	23	Lasan, Tamenglong	3-8-96
826	Jangkholal Haokip	35	Pasong, Ukhrul	3-8-96
827	Lamkholet Vaiphei	33	Morch, Chandel	20-8-96
828	Ngamsei	18	Moltuh, Chandel	24-9-96
829	Thanggoumang Chonglor	21	K.Phailen, Ukhrul	5-10-96
830	Khuplet Chonglor	50	Taphou Kuki, Sadar Hills	25-10-96
831	Tonglen Chonglor	35	Taphou Kuki, Sadar Hills	12-11-96
832	Tonsei Chonglor	28	Taphou Kuki, Sadar Hills	12-11-96
833	Hemkhosei Baite	58	Chief of Chingphei, Ukhrul	12-11-96
834	Khupjahao	18	Hengbung, Sadar Hills	20-1-97
835	Mawia Vaiphei	26	Nehru Marg, Churachandpur	11-2-97
836	L/Nk Lianpao Paite	26	Singhat, Churachandpur	11-2-97
837	L/Nk Doungam Haokip	27	G. Phaibung,	11-2-97
838	Sonjalet Kom	34	Ichum Reirap, Sadar Hills	11-2-97

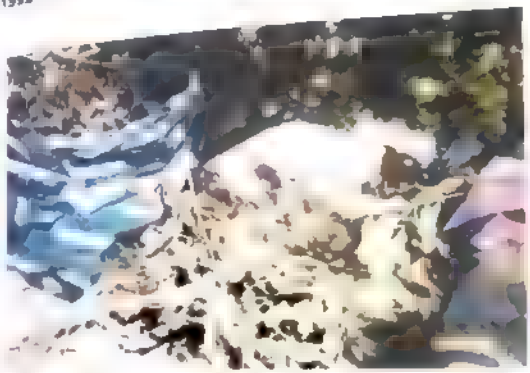
839	P.K Lal Paite, Const. CRPF	35	New Lamka,	12-2-97
840	Lianjakham Paite, Assam Regdt.	35	Mualkon,	12-2-97
841	L Paosat Misao	45	Khongangpokpi,Sadar Hills	25-2-97
842	Mangkhohao Chonglor	24	Thingphai, Sadar Hills	28-2-97
843	Seikhogin Chomglor	25	Taloulong, Tamenglong	10-3-97
844	Letkholam Kipgen	30	G.Thangbuh,	10-3-97
845	Paokam Vaiphei	35	Changoubung,Sadar Hills	13-3-97
846	Mrs Hatneikim Hangsing	20	Vakotphai,	17-5-97
847	Mrs Hoikhovei Chonglor	28	Vakotphai,	17-5-97
848	Lenkhohao Chonglor	2	Vakotphai, Sadar Hills	17-5-97
849	Mrs Chinneilhing Lhouvum	27	Thenjang,	17-5-97
850	Mrs Nengvah Baite	32	Chalwa, Sadar Hills	17-5-97
851	Sehkholal Hangsing	68	Vakotpahi,	16-6-97
852	Lalminthang Touthang	3	Khoikai, Ukhrul	30-7-97
853	Lalkhosat Hangsing	43	Kangpaopi,Sadar Hills	21-8-97
854	Mangminthang Kipgen	20	Songjang,	21-8-97
855	Khaikhogin	19	Chaljang, Sadar Hills	21-8-97
856	Paokhosei	37	Gilgal, Sadar Hills	12-9-97
857	Doukhomang Singsit	30	Thenjang, Tamenglong	16-9-97
858	Dongkhohen Lhouvum	28	Thenjang, Tamenglong	16-9-97
859	Paokhothang Chonglor	42	Chief of Kailenjang,	9-10-97
860	Thangpao Lhouvum	42	Kangpokpi,Sadar Hills	10-10-97

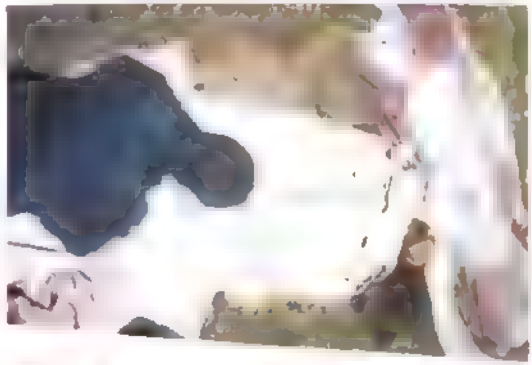
LIST OF KUKIS KILLED BY NSCN (IM) IN NAGALAND

862	Janghen	38 Pellhang, Nagaland	13-4-95
863	Thangkhohel Hangsing	50 Bongkolong, Nagaland	12-6-95

864 Henkhohao	25	Maova, Nagaland	11-12-95
865 Lamkhongam	26	Maova, Nagaland	11-12-95
866 Thangkam	21	Medziphema, Nagaland	23-5-95
867 Manglal	16	Saijang, Nagaland	10-8-94
868 Sehlam	50	Ahthibung, Nagaland	9-12-96
869 Henkhopao	35	Ahthibung, Nagaland	9-12-96
870 Thangkhogin	15	Ahthibung, Nagaland	9-12-96
871 Lengkhokai	15	Ahthibung, Nagaland	9-12-96
872 Mrs Tingnem	23	Ahthibung, Nagaland	9-12-96
873 Nehminlen	4	Ahthibung, Nagaland	9-12-96
874 Miss Nemneilhing	17	Ahthibung, Nagaland	9-12-96
875 Miss Tingbem	27	Ahthibung, Nagaland	9-12-96
876 Chungjakhup	34	Bongkolong, Nagaland	9-12-96
877 Paothang	13	Bongkolong, Nagaland	9-12-96
878 Somlalngul	57	Chief of Khelma, Nagaland	9-12-96
879 Mrs Lamvei	50	Old Chalkot, Nagaland	9-12-96
880 Ngulthang	62	Lilen, Nagaland	9-12-96
881 Jangngul	16	Lilen, Nagaland	9-12-96
882 Lalkhosei	18	Lilen, Nagaland	9-12-96
883 Mrs Kimnem	45	Lilen, Nagaland	9-12-96
884 Miss Phalneichong	15	Molvom, Nagaland	9-12-96
885 Mrs Lalkim	30	Songlhuh, Nagaland	9-12-96
886 Mrs Lhailam	53	Songlhuh, Nagaland	9-12-96
887 Mrs Mengsi	20	Songlhuh, Nagaland	9-12-96

INNOCENT VICTIMS OF KUKI GENOCIDE CARRIED OUT BY NSCN (IM) FROM 1992-1997 (some photos)







PHOTOS OF 25 KUKI MEN MASSACRED AT THINGSAN VILLAGE IN CHANDEL DISTRICT BY NSCN (IM) CADRES.









888	Lamkhoneng	3	Songlhuh, Nagaland	9-12-96
889	Helkhoseh	30	Inbung, Nagaland	9-12 96
890	Thangsei	17	Inbung, Nagaland	9 12 96
891	Miss Ngahbem	21	Pellhang, Nagaland	9-12-96
892	Seihen	7	Pellhang, Nagaland	9-12-96
893	Miss Lhaineithem	14	Pellhang, Nagaland	9-12-96
894	Mrs Nengkholhing	59	Phanjang, Nagaland	9-12-96
895	Miss Martha	18	Phanjang, Nagaland	9-12-96
896	Pumhen	60	Inbung, Nagaland	9-12-96

LIST OF KUKIS KILLED BY NSCN (IM) IN MANIPUR:

897	Laljang	52	Songjang, Sadar Hills	11-10-97
898	Henkholun Kipgen	26	Songjang, Sadar Hills	11-10-97
899	Seikholen Kipgen	30	Selsi, Sadar Hills	11-10-97
900	Paominlun	14	Ichailamlan Sadar Hills	16-10-97
901	Lungoulal	12	Ichailamlan Sadar Hills	16-10-97
902	Jangminlun	12	Ichailamlan Sadar Hills	16-10-97
903	Jamsei Mate	25	Thingphai, Chandel	24-10-97
904	Letkam Baite	26	Thingphai, Chandel	24-10-97
905	Vumkhopao Chonglor	70	Vakotphai,	25-10-97

The above list is not exhaustive It is based mainly on official sources There are many more unreported cases and many have remained unidentified.Names of missing persons have also not been included The authour has incorporated whatever information that was given to him even personally.Any additional information is welcome

CHAPTER- XIX

THE KUKI NATIONAL ORGANISATION: A BRIEF PROFILE

BACKGROUND OF KNO'S FORMATION

The Kuki movement against British aggression into their territory, which began in 1777 culminated in the Kuki Rising of 1917-1919. The extensive preparations for the ensuing confrontation that involved mobilisation of forces and declaration of war according to Kuki custom reflect the nationalistic character of the event. The Kuki Rising was a part of the First World War, marked by a momentous offensive against British colonial rule. In the Second World War, Kukis, under the leadership of Pu Pakang, alias Japan Pakang and the Indian National Army led by Subhas Chandra Bose, sided with the Axis powers to free their lands from British domination. The victory of the Allied forces, however, led to the division of Bose's motherland into India and

Pakistan, and trifurcation of Zale'n-gam, the ancestral land of the Kukis, among India, Burma, and Pakistan. The Kuki leaders were deeply agonized by this defeat, so much so that at the end of the War, some Kuki leaders left for Japan, never to return to their land. And so it was that a valiant attempt to regain Zale'n-gam's sovereignty from the British remained unfulfilled. In 1949, Sadar Vallabhai Patel, the then Home Minister, asked the Meitei Maharaja or Ningthou (Chief) to sign the Merger Agreement to include Manipur within the Indian Union. The Kuki chiefs opposed this move because of apprehensions that it would entail ceding Kuki territory to India, which was administered by the British along with Meitei people's territory, comprising the valley historically called Manipur. In opposition to the merger agreement and to lend support to the Meitei Ningthou, who was initially reluctant to sign the merger agreement, over 250 Kuki warriors were deployed at the Palace gate by the Kuki Chiefs. However, the Ningthou yielded to the pressures of a fiercely demonstrating group of Meiteis and signed the merger of Manipur at Shillong in 1949.

In post-independent India and Burma, the Kuki leaders continued to oppose the division of their ancestral land by the international boundary drawn without their consent. As a mark of protest, the Kukis of Burma did not participate in the Panglong Conference held in 1947. Instead, they proposed the reunification of their territory. In India, the Kuki National Assembly formed in 1946 initially proposed sovereignty for the Kukis. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Kukis appealed for the recognition of Kuki states, one each in Burma and India if India and Burma want to integrate parts of Kuki territory within their respective nations. However, their appeals to the Governments of India and Burma through peaceful means for the last fifty decades went unacknowledged. The Kukis have not only been blatantly ignored, their concerns and plight have also never been addressed. Feeling betrayed by the governments of India and Burma, the Kukis from both India and Burma declared the formation of Kuki National Organisation

(KNO) as the provisional government of Zale'n-gam. The historic event took place in 1988 at Jangmol-Dingpi in the Indo-Burma Border region. On this occasion, as mandated by the Kuki people, Pu Thangkholun, C-in-C of Kuki National Army, the armed wing of KNO, went to the Kachin Independent Army in Kachin state in Burma to receive training in guerrilla warfare.

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

PS Haokip is president of Kuki National Organisation, and supreme commander of the army, and Anton Kuki the Home Secretary. The late Brig Vipin Haokip was the first Chief of Army Staff. Col S Robert became the Chief of Army Staff of KNA in January 2005. The other Cabinet Members of KNO are L Sihkil Kipgen, vice-president for Eastern Zale'n-gam in present-day Burma, Lalminthang Vaiphei, vice-president for Western Zale'n-gam in present-day India. Cabinet members of the rank of Secretary include SNG Haokip, Public Relations, TS Haokip, Defence; Zale'n Kuki, Foreign; H Lenin Kuki, Information & Publicity; Joshua Haokip, Education; TH German Haokip, Intelligence; David Thangboi, Trade & Commerce, Thamchinkap alias Anthony Zou, Art & Culture; Thangboi Karong, Forest & Environment; Thangsang Hmar, Medical, TS Patte, Parliament, Paokhomang Thangeo, Industry, and Kopham Khaling, Development.

Under Secretary to each of the Secretaries forms the second tier of the administrative structure. The third tier is headed by one Deputy Commissioner in every district, one Additional Deputy Commissioner in every subdivision, one Sub-Deputy Collector in every area (Lhang) and Village Representatives for each village. Led by educated, committed and well-trained armed persons, the Kuki National Organisation is one of the most powerful revolutionary groups in Northeast India and Burma.

KNO'S ARMED WING

	Organisation	Name	Desig
1.	Kuki National Army	S Robert Kuki	CAS
2.	Kuki National Front (MC)	TH German Haokip	C-in-C
3.	Kuki National Front (Z)	Joshua Haokip	C-in-C
4	United Socialist Revolutionary Army	Lalminthang Vaiphei	C-in-C
5.	Zomi Revolutionary Front	TS Paite	C-in-C
6	Zou Defence Volunteer	Thamchinkap alias Anthony Zou	C-in-C
7.	United Komrem Revolutionary Army	Thangboi Karong	C-in-C
8.	Hmar National Army	Thangsang Hmar	C-in-C
9.	Kuki Liberation Army (Manipur)	Khaikam Touthang	C-in-C
10.	Kuki Liberation Army (Assam)	Paokhomang Thangeo	C-in-C
11.	United Old Kuki Liberation Army	Kopham Khaling	C-in-C
12.	Kuki Revolutionary Army (Unification)	Thangcha George Chongloi	C-in-C

Till date, the armed wing of KNO include Kuki National Army, Kuki National Front (Military Council), Kuki National Front (Zogam), United Socialist Revolutionary Army, Zomi Revolutionary Front, United Komrem Revolutionary Army, Zou Defence Volunteers, Hmar National Army, Kuki Liberation Army (Manipur), Kuki Liberation Army (Assam), and United Old Kuki

Liberation Army. Initially, the armed wing received arms and training from the Kachin Independent Army. Today, cadres trained from Kachin give long and vigorous military training to the newly recruited cadres. One month political training during which the ideology and objectives of the KNO are imparted following the military training.

OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGIES

In the aftermath of the Kuki Rising of 1917-1919, Zale'n-gam, the ancestral land of the Kuki people, was divided by the British colonialists and brought under the administrations of British India and British Burma. Based in Kuki ancestral territory, KNO's principal objectives concern the recognition and restoration of the land of Zale'n-gam. The twofold objectives are

1.Recognition by the concerned governments that prior to the advent of the British colonialists Kukis were an independent people.

2.Zale'n gam's restoration by way of according statehood, one in India and another in Burma.

Another major objective of KNO includes statehood for all ethnic nationalities in Burma, and setting up of a Union Democratic of Burma based on the principles of federalism. KNO is a member of the Federation of Ethnic Nationalities of Burma (FENB). KNO is open to dialogue along the stated objectives with the concerned governments

In Burma, KNO have had to resort to violent means against the Military Junta from 1991 and 1999, mainly targeting patrol parties and steamers along the river Chindwin. The reasons for adopting such a strategy in Burma are as follows.

The Burmese government has disregarded the fact that Kukis live on their ancestral lands Kuki village boundaries have been removed.

Traditio ial form of governance, i e. Haosa (chieftainship) system has beer abolished Ethnic Burmese population, extricated mainly from R. ngoon and Mandalay, have been transplanted to Kuki areas with a view to rendering the indigenous people a minority. Development works in Kuki areas is virtually non-existent.

The problems faced by the Kukis and their political demands have been brought to the notice of the Indian and Burmese governments, the United Nations and other international and regional forums.

THE NATIONAL COURT

The National Court is the highest Court of Appeal of the Kuki National Organisation. The Court is made up of 5 (five) members. Three of the members are from the cabinet. Their appointment is recommended by the Cabinet and endorsed by the President. The other two members are directly appointed by the President as necessitated by the particular circumstance, time, and nature of the case involved. In the event of the President's trial, the Cabinet must approve the two appointees. The President or the Vice-President normally 'Chair' the court. The members of the Cabinet are normally present in the court proceedings.

KNO'S EXTERNAL LINKS

The Kuki National Organization maintains strategic alliances with Kachin Independent Organisation, National Socialist Council of Nagaland – Khaplang, Shan State Army and Karenni National People's Party, Democratic Alliance of Burma, and particularly with Wa, Palaung, and Lahu and Pa-oh peoples. In 2000, as a bulwark against infiltration of alien groups into their areas, KNO initiated the formation of the Indigenous Peoples Revolutionary Army comprising of KNA, Zomi Revolutionary Army, Hmar People's Council and Kuki National Front – Military Council.

KNO is also a member of Federation of Ethnic Nationalities of Burma. FENB membership includes Palaung State Liberation Front, Wa National Organization, Lahu Democratic Front, Pa-O People's Liberation Organization, Chin Liberation Organisation and Democratic Alliance of Arakan. FENB's objectives are twofold: statehood for all ethnic nationalities, and setting up a union of democratic Burma. Accordingly, FENB have appealed to the United Nations Organisation through Ismail Razali, Special Envoy of the United Nations to Burma to intervene in Burma regarding creation of statehood for Wa, Kuki, Palaung, Lahu and Pa-oh, who are currently unrepresented ethnic minorities in the country.

SUPPORT AND AREAS OF OPERATION

KNO is active in the entire Kuki areas in India and Myanmar. This area of operation includes Sagaing Division in Burma, Chandel, Ukhrul, Sadar Hills, Churachandpur districts of Manipur and parts of Assam. The organisation takes the responsibility of co-ordinating different Kuki revolutionary groups. They have also exercised concern over socio-religious issues, such as church unity, campaign against social evils such as narcotics, theft, exploitation and smuggling of local natural resources. Consequently, KNO have earned respect and support from the Kuki community. By virtue of their inclusiveness and the democratic principles they upheld, the organisation also enjoys the support of other ethnic groups settled in their areas of operation.

KNO PUBLICATIONS

The KNO has published three books authored by P.S Haokip, the President. The publications in English are Zale'n-gam: The Land of the Kukis (1995, revised and reprinted in 1996), Zale'n-gam The Kuki Nation (1998), A Rejoinder (see) to National Socialist Council of Nagaland – Isaac & Muivah's article "Kuki and the Naga Public Clashes" posted on the website www.nscnonline.org

Other major publications include The Eastern Zale'n-gam (2000) published in the Burmese language; Ideological Aspects of Zale'n-gam (2004) published in both English and Kuki dialects. These publications, which, deals with Kuki history, customs, traditions, issues of conflict and its ideology have helped to articulate and disseminate the Kuki issues within and abroad.

CONCLUSION

The designs of British colonialism dealt a devastating blow to Kuki. Efforts made by Kuki National Assembly and Kuki leaders in Burma to seek redressal in independent India and Burma have proved futile. KNO's aim, whether it is the realisation of Zale'n-gam or Kuki state- one in India and the other in Burma, seem to have been interrupted by the violent activities of National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Isak & Muivah (NSCN-IM). In the existing circumstances, PS Haokip, in a video recording, expressed a view pertinent to the organisation's stand:

In the 1990s, the NSCN-IM inflicted tremendous atrocities upon Kuki, over nine hundred lives have been lost, three hundred-and-fifty villages uprooted, and fifty thousand people rendered refugees. The deracinated Kuki villages are mainly in Manipur, in the districts of Ukhrul, Tamenglong and Senapati. In this scenario and particular juncture, it is immensely ungratifying that GOI should engage in dialogue only with NSCN-IM (after all Naga have already been given statehood in 1963) - the Kukis have not only been blatantly ignored in this instance, their concerns and plight have never been adequately addressed either.

GOI seems to have forgotten that the British forcibly took Kuki land and handed it over to India. This is the ancestral land for which the Kukis fought the British Imperialists in both WWI and WWII. Now, in the context of India, if Kuki is to remain a part of the union, the Kuki land, 'Zale'n-gam', needs to be accorded statehood. Kuki does not demand anybody's land; they only make claim over their own.

KNO will hold steadfast to the values and traditions of our forebears and remain committed to preserving the integrity of Kuki territory. KNO believes that these aspirations are shared by the entire Kuki population. Therefore, in all its endeavours for the Kukis, KNO solicits the unstinting support and goodwill of the community, empathy of the governments of India and Burma, and other concerned parties such as human rights groups and Non Governmental Organizations.

CHAPTER XX

IDEOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF ZALE'N-GAM

By PS Haokip, President

Kuki National Organisation

MANMASI

The Kuki National Organisation is a revolutionary organization based in Zale'n-gam, the ancestral land of the Kuki people. The Kuki National Organisation and its armed wings Kuki Armies endeavours to restore in Zale'n-gam a state of freedom and self-rule, a status which the British colonialists deprived our people. Zale'n-gam is the ancestral land of the Kuki people. Prior to the advent of British colonialists, there was complete self-rule and independence in Zale'n-gam. Chieftainship, the form of traditional governance also served as an institution embodying Kuki culture and tradition. Semang and Pachong, councils of ministers, aided

the chief in government. Our forebears lived gloriously by themselves, other peoples were not a part of the population. Tales of legendary folks such as Galngam, Khupting and Ngambom, Pujil and Langchal, Benglam, Jonlhing and Nanglhun and others have been passed down through generations. The prosperous land was resplendent with a variety of exquisite flora and fauna. Customary rites Sa Ai, Chang-Ai, Chon le Han, Hun, Kut, Semang were observed without any hindrance or interference from foreign elements.

Territory:

In present-day terms the areas of Zale'n-gam are as follows: In Burma, Eastern Zale'n-gam includes the river Chindwin covering regions towards the west bordering India; in the North the river Nantalit and to the South stretching to the Chin State. In India, the Manipur Hill Districts; in the state of Nagaland, Kanjang and Akhen in Phek District, the Athibung Sub-Division, in Dimapur District, in Assam Karbi-Anglong, North Cachar Hills and Halflong, Tripura; and in Bangaladesh parts of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The people of Zale'n-gam are listed in Zale'n-gam. The Kuki Nation I. Today, by the designs of the British, Zale'n-gam has been divided among Burma, India and Bangladesh.

Aspects of Zale'n-gam:

1 Zale'n-gam folklore abounds with Kuki warriors courting heavenly beauties Moultinchan, Ahsijolneng, Jollhing and Jolphal.

2 Imprints of Galngam and his various animals are evident in the length and breadth of Zale'n-gam. Zale'n-gam. The Kuki Nation lists 24 such locations. The pugmarks left by Galngam's dogs and mithuns are featured in the balladic lyrics in Lakawi La,2 authored by Pu Paokhohang Haokip (Ex MLA).

Tax and tributes:

The Kuki chiefs received tax and tributes from their Naga subjects in Manipur, who originally arrived from upper Assam and northern Burma. These people engaged continually in intra-village conflict. The underdogs sought and received refuge among the benevolent chiefs, who accommodated them for good in Zale'n-gam. An example of this is the Tangkhul Nagas in present-day Ukhrul district, which was an integral part of Zale'n-gam. The Chassad chief to whom the Tangkhul paid regular tax and tributes, served as king. As a mark of deference it was customary to carry the chief on a palanquin during tours. In the Chassad fiefdom, Tangkhuls managed efficiently various departments, such as fishery. They always ensured there was plentiful supply of meat, vegetables and other food items for the chief's kitchen. The Chassad chief also received customary tax from his younger brother, the chief of Joujang (in Burma), also known as king of Twikol. (The yearly tax was half of the total that the chief collected from Joujang's fiefdom, Somra Tract, which was carried wrapped in a huge bundle.) Similar customary tax was received by the Chassad chief from his other brothers chiefs of Lonpi, Longja, Sita in present-day Chandel district; Loikhai, Henglep, Songpi in present-day Churachandpur district, Laijang in present-day Tamenglong district, Loibol, Tingkai, Saitu in the Sadar Hills in present-day; Senapati district, Molnoi, Khotuh, Phaisat, Khomunnom, and Joujang in present-day Burma.

The chief of Aisan reigned in present-day Chingai in Ukhrul District Sub-Division and Pochury in Nagaland, which were part of Zale'n-gam. The chief of Aisan also received tax from his younger brothers, the chiefs of Sangnao, Leikot, Jampi, Tuisom, Tonglhang, Beheing, Dampi, Hengtam, Khongjang, The'njang, and Chonjang. The chief of Bombai reigned in Peren Sub-Division of Nagaland. Other domains of Zale'n-gam, where Kuki chiefs reigned include the following: Laijang, Tujang, Jampi, and Sangnau, which are in present-day Tamenglong district.

4. Defence of Zale'n-gam:

Significant Kuki offences against the British started in 1760s Carey and Tuck (1932, 12)3 refer to an event that took place a hundred years on 'the year 1860 saw the great Kuki invasion of Tipperah, and the following year a large body of police marched to the hills to punish and avenge ' Of this war, Col Elley wrote, 'in 1845, 1847-1848, 1849-1850, and 1850-1851 there were raids culminating in what is called the Great Kuki Invasion of 1860s....'4

5 In the twentieth-century Kuki featured in both WWI and WWII The period of World War I marked a momentous Kuki movement against the British, which is recorded as 'Kuki rising, 1917-1919',5 and also referred to as the first Kuki War of Independence Shakespear6 and Palit7 record the event as 'Kuki Rebellion, 1917-1919'. This war is most notable because it is the only one of its kind in which an ethnic group withstood the might of the British imperialist power, continuously for three years. In WW II, in a bid to regain Zale'n-gam's sovereignty from the British, Kuki sided with the Axis powers to which the Indian National Army was a part During the war Pakang, alias Japan Pakang and various Kuki leaders were actively engaged with the Japanese Jamthang Haokip'8 writes about the details of the war There are over one hundred and fifty INA pensioners, as many as eighty are listed in Freedom Fighters of Manipur 9 Nakakisa, a Japanese intelligence officer, makes a perceptive observation. Kuki is a nation, as are India, Burma, and Japan.

6 The KUKI INN at Imphal was built to commemorate the Kuki War of Independence, 1917 1919 Displayed in the hall are portraits of the war leaders Chengjapao Doungel, King of Kuki and chief of Aisan, Lhukhomang Haokip, chief of Haokip and Chassad, Tintong Haokip, chief of Laijang and Chief-in-Command Kuki Army, Enjakhup Kholhou, Dy Chief-in-Command Kuki Army, Khotinthang Sitlhou alias Kilkhong, chief of Jampi. Every year 19 December is observed as Memorial Day of Kuki War of Independence, which is organized by the War Committee Member

7 In 1949 the Meitei chief of Manipur signed the merger agreement to join the Indian Union Kuki chiefs opposed this move because it would entail ceding Kuki territory annexed by the British and administered jointly with Meitei Over 250 Kuki warriors10 were deployed at the palace gate to support the Meitei chief, who initially considered not merging with India

8 At Phaikoh, in Eastern Zale'n-gam, where Jamkhai,11 a Kuki king and his descendants reigned, there still exist a great stone cave, where the king held daily court A similar type of cave exists in Western Zale'n-gam in present-day Tamelong District in Manipur The Kukis, in order to preserve the integrity of Zale'n-gam, carried out various expeditions An encounter, in which Thanglet, a Kuki prince took Ningtha's (Shan king) head is recorded.12 Kuki Picket13 or Kuki kitla refers to the location, where an encounter with the Angami Naga at Kohima, in present-day Nagaland 1,200 Kuki warriors fought against the Chin king, Kamhou Sukte, who had once captured Chandrakirti, king of Manipur, and returned him to his throne

The preceding accounts tell of Zale'n-gam, the ancestral land of the Kuki people. As mentioned above, the British took control of Zale'n-gam and divided it between India and Burma The Kuki people have remained in these two countries for the last sixty years with the hope that due acknowledgement would be accorded by way of statehood, one in Burma and the other in India Zale n-gam Land of the Kukis (1995) was published, which was followed by a revised edition Zale'n-gam Land of the Kukis (1996) Zale n-gam The Kuki Nation (1998) Eastern Zale'n-gam (2000) was written in the Burmese language These publications have helped to articulate and disseminate the Zale'n-gam ideology worldwide

God bless Zale'n-gam

CHAPTER – XXI

MANIFESTO OF THE KUKI NATIONAL ORGANISATION

The Kuki National Organisation is a revolutionary movement based in Zale'n-gam: land of freedom, the ancestral territory of the Kuki people...

The Kuki National Organisation is a revolutionary movement based in Zale'n-gam: land of freedom, the ancestral territory of the Kuki people. The ancestral Zale'n-gam comprises the contiguous region in Northeast India, Northwest Burma, and the Chittagong Hill tracts in Bangladesh. Zale'n-gam is the land where the Kukis originated, on which they were raised, developed, excelled and fought valiant battles for its preservation and protection. Following the 'Kuki Rising, 1917-1919' (OIOC), which was a culmination of resistance to British colonialists' aggression that began in 1777, Zale'n-gam was divided between

India and Burma by the colonialists. Despite the historical injustice resulting in the division of Kuki territory without their consent, and the consequent separation of their people, successive generations of Kuki have not forgotten that they are one nation. They have neither abandoned nor faltered in the pursuit of their right to regain freedom.

The Kuki National Organisation, on behalf of the Kukis, of the present and future generations, pledges to restore the ancestral Kuki territory to its rightful status. The Manifesto and ideology of KNO is based on the resolution of the Kuki chiefs, who fought against the British in the 'Kuki Rising, 1917-1919'. The resolution reads:

At all cost, we should fight against the British for the preservation of our independence, and for the protection of our land, culture and tradition (in JC Higgins' letter No 1243, 7 November 1917, to the Chief Secretary of Assam).

The zeal and sacrifice of our forefathers made nearly one hundred years ago remain fresh in our hearts and minds. Not daunted by the might of the world's most powerful imperialists of the time, they fought them to preserve the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Zale'n-gam. Their fortitude and tenacity continues to inspire KNO in its obligation to restore Zale'n-gam to its status, which is the birthright of the Kuki people. KNO pledges to pursue its goal through means that are noble and which do not compromise the integrity and commitment demonstrated by our ancestors.

The Kukis were a sovereign nation before the advent of the British.

Prior to the advent of the British, the Kukis were in their own right a sovereign nation. Kuki polity, based on chieftainship, functioned with a full complement of governing bodies, such as *Semang* (Home Minister), *Pachong* (Defence & External Affairs), *Lhangsam* (Minister, Public Relations & Broadcasting), *Lawm*

upi (Minister of Youth, Economic & Cultural Affairs), *Thempu* (Priest), *Tollai Pao* (Law and Order Enforcement Minister). At the national level, this governance is known as the Kuki Inpi. The pattern is replicated at the *Lhang* (district) and *Gamkai* (state) level. Integral to Kuki polity is the *Inpi*, the apex body, in which each Kuki Chief is a member.

The Inpi usually met only to evolve and cause to execute broad policies and programmes, and when matters of importance such as which affect the security and safety of the entire Kuki nation, arose. One such instance took place in 1917. the Kuki Chiefs from the entire length and breadth of Zale'n-gam held a series of conclaves at Chassad, Jampi, Longya, and Khongjang. At these conclaves they resolved to rise against the British to protect the sovereignty of Zale'n-gam. To mark their resolve for a concerted effort, the Kuki Chiefs performed *Sujamlhah* and ate the heart and liver of the mithun or bison killed for the occasion, symbolising commitment from the depth of one's heart or core. As is customary, portions of the meat are sent to every Kuki village Chief not present on the occasion. The tradition of *Thingkho le Malchapom* (hot king-sized chilly tied on to smouldering firewood) signifying a declaration of war, was evoked against the British. *Thingkho le Malchapom* was sent to every Kuki village to convey that an offensive against the British has begun. This practice, which also indicated the Kukis were fully prepared, enabled the united Kuki Rising of 1917-1919. The traditional Kuki Inpi, which remained latent since India gained independence from Britain, was revived following the fresh lot of crises faced by the Kuki people from the late 1980s and early 1990s.

The relationship between the Kuki Chief and the Meitei *Ningthou* (Raja or Chief) was one of mutual respect and understanding. They stuck together through thick and thin, helping each other in times of external aggression. An eloquent ancient Meitei aphorism bears testimony to this relationship. *Chingna kouna pansaba, Haona kouna panngakpa, Manipur sana leimayol* (Rough

translation) *Encircled by the range of hills, secured all around by the people who dwell therein; Oh Manipur, thou golden land* The aphorism clearly demarcated Kuki and Meitei territories. The 'people' or 'Haona' refer to the Kukis, who were masters of the hills, where they received tax and tributes from the Tangkhuls and Kabui Nagas. Manipur sana leimayol, the golden land, refers to the ancestral Meitei territory consisting the valley, which lay safely surrounded by Kuki hills and their braves

Contrary to some academics' view, the Kuki Chiefs were not *'vassals'* of the Meitei Ningthou, neither were they ever treated as such The Kuki Chiefs were independent and benevolent autocrats, who kept their territory secure and intact. In the words of JH Hutton, The Kukis were ruled by their own organized chiefs and treated as they had been in the past at any rate, by the Manipur State as allies (Introduction to William Shaw's book, *Notes on Thadou Kukis* (1929), written by JH Hutton, July 1928, p 3) The Kukis protested the transfer of hill administration to the Manipur State Durbar and made clear their stand by stating: The hills were never a part of India prior to the annexation of these frontier hills (Statement of KNA, 1947). This position was reiterated by KNA: **The unchallenging fact is that, if the British government left the country, then naturally the Kukis should be free** (Memorandum to the Prime Minister, 1960).

The freedom loving Kukis were politically subjugated by the British, but morally they remained independent and this manifested itself from time to time...

The aggressions of the British on Kuki territory, which began in 1777 culminated in the Kuki Rising of 1917-1919 The British Government let loose a reign of terror on the Kukis both during and after the Kuki Rising To this day bitters tears are shed when experiences are related of the torture, oppression, and extent of losses in terms of property and lives suffered at the hands of the British The intensity of Kuki defiance is cited by Maj Gen DK Palit (1984, 62) in *Sentinels of the North-East* rather than attend

a Durbar the Political Agent of Manipur organised to discuss the issues that incensed the Kukis, Chief Ngulbul of Mombi (Lawngpi) and Chief Ngulkhup of Longya sent a message that they have **'closed the country to the British.'** In today context, Chief Ngulbul and Chief Ngulkhup's dominion is the Chandel district of Manipur

In spite of the cruel suppression meted out by the British, our forefathers' courage, hope and love for freedom did not falter, and this manifested periodically through WWII Shakespear (1929, 224, *History of the Assam Rifles*), wrote that the events of the Kuki Rising of 1917-1919 covered the **'entire hills of Manipur'**. Meluri Sub-division and Peren District of present-day Nagaland; and in Eastern Zale'n-gam, of present-day Burma, up to the river Chindwin and the Kale-Kabaw Valley This concerted offensive led by the Chiefs is a tribute to the traditional Kuki polity, which is embodied in the Inpi The Kuki Rising is also significant as it highlighted the historicity of Kuki Polity and Kuki unity across the present-day international boundaries of India, Burma and Bangladesh The British government cognizant of this fact, and dreading the strength of a united Kuki people, had a system of border meetings between officers of Manipur and those of Somra Tract in Upper Burma, Chin Hills, Naga Hills and Lushai Hills After obtaining detailed accounts of the Kukis and fully assessing their strength, the British Indian Government began reorganizing administrative regions to divide and control Kuki territory.

By the Act of 1935, Government of India, Burma was separated from India in 1937 This deft imperialist masterstroke split Zale'n-gam between British India and British Burma, without Kuki consent In the words of William Shaw (1929, 50), **'The unprepared Kukis could not, however, openly challenge the Britishers but had to wait for an opportune time when they could re-assert their freedom.'** The opportunity to regain their freedom came in World War II. In this Great War the Kukis and

the Indian National Army fought on the side of Japanese. The Kukis entered into a political agreement with the INA and the Japanese army regarding the future of the Kukis after the war ended.

In a booklet (written in the vernacular) Manipur a Kuki te leh Christianity (1984), Pu Jamthang gives an account of the agreement between the Kukis and the Japanese held in present-day Burma at Koija (north of Homalin) and Zalen (south of Homalin) camps, on 5 Oct and 12 Oct 1943, respectively. The number of Kuki Chiefs and elders present on the occasion was 310. Imperial Japan was represented by 3 Japanese officers, namely Ezemia, Nokamisan and Nakamisang. A translation of the text regarding the treaty at Koija and Zalen camps is as follows:

The Kukis and the Japanese killed a mithun or bison to formalise the treaty. They ate the animal's liver and heart (symbolising deepest commitment to the treaty) and declared that a tiger devour either party that reneged!

The points of the Kuki-Japanese agreement are as follows:

a) In war time, Kukis would help the Japanese in combats against the British, provide local guides, intelligence, provisions and other materials.

b) In the course of the war, the Imperial Japanese army would respect the dignity and honour of the Kuki people.

c) Following victory of the Axis powers, the Kukis would regain independence, as was prior to the advent of the British, and Japan would facilitate in the process of Kukis rebuilding their nation.

The victory of the Allied forces and subsequent independence of Burma, India and Pakistan resulted in Kuki territory being incorporated within the three state-nations. The British not only divided our ancestral lands, but also divided us into 'Old Kuki' and 'New Kuki' with the sole intention to subdue and prevent us from becoming a strong and united nation.

India and Burma have interpreted the peaceful movement of the Kukis since 1940s as a sign of weakness, and as a result, failed to address their issues..

Unyielding to the forced division of Zale'n-gam, the Kuki National Assembly was formed in 1946 to demand independence from India. Within Burma, as a mark of protest, the Kuki people did not participate in the widely acclaimed Panglong Agreement of 1947, held at Panglong in the Shan state. The Panglong Agreement was a conference, which was attended by certain Members of the Executive Council of the Governor of Burma, and representative of the Shan States, the Kachin Hills and the Chin Hills - but not the Kukis. Despite the enforced circumstances of the Kukis, their mode of expressing grievance and seeking redressal in India and Burma has been non-violent. However, this gesture has not been appreciated by the respective governments of both countries. They appear to interpret the peaceful movement of the Kukis since 1940s as a sign of weakness, and have ignored the Kuki question. The governments of India and Burma have failed to protect the lives, liberty and property of the Kuki people. In other words, the basic human rights of the Kuki people have been denied in their own lands. These, and other grievances, have been patiently borne to a point where forbearance ceases to be a virtue. Our anticipation for the concerned governments to take proactive initiatives has so far proven futile. We are therefore obligated to consider, deliberate and articulate our political goals, which is our inherent right and sacred duty to posterity.

In the Indian Union, the states are organized on ethno-linguistic lines in recognition of the existing mosaic of ethnic identities, languages and cultures. The right to govern their own affairs within their traditional territory has been denied to the Kukis, whilst it has long been extended to other ethnic entities in the Northeast. As a result, the Kuki inhabited areas of Manipur Hills, Karbi-Anglong and North-Cachar Hills of Assam and Tripura remain grossly underdeveloped and the people live in abject poverty. Fair

developmental programs have consistently been denied to Kuki inhabited regions by the state machinery dominated by the majority communities. The long years of neglect and sufferings of the Kuki people under these state governments, dictated by the interests of the majority communities, have rendered the Kukis economically, socially and politically backward and deeply vulnerable. Please note: **'Unity in Diversity'**, the basis of Indian Polity, can work only when the diverse communities are on the same pedestal and can relate to each other with mutual respect.

The Kukis have been subjected to political adversity and their neighbouring communities have taken advantage of their consequent vulnerability. This fact was highlighted by the Kuki National Assembly in 1960: **'Unless strong measures are immediately taken up for self-preservation, namely establishment of a separate state of their own within the Indian Union, they will surely succumb sooner or later to a process of extinction and extermination, which has been threatening them very seriously.'** The Indian government has not addressed the Kuki issue and thus continues the saga of the Kuki people's never-ending sufferings and struggles. From 1950-1990, the Tangkhul people of Ukhrul District in Manipur carried out selective and systematic elimination of Kuki chiefs and elders, totalling 42. This was done to implant a fear psychosis among Kukis so that they may leave their hearths and ancestral lands. In the process, 64 Kuki villages were uprooted, which are now occupied by the Tangkhuls. In an ever-worsening scenario, on 22 October 1992 **'Quit Notice Served by United Naga Council (UNC) to Kukis'** was issued, signed by RK Thekho, president of UNC, Imphal. Copies of the notice were distributed to all Naga villages, Sub Divisional Offices, District Commissioner Offices of the Manipur state government, and to the Editors of Manipur Mail and Manipur News for publication. As a result, from 1992-1997, the NSCN (IM) led by Thuingaleng Muivah, a Tangkhul, launched the infamous Kuki genocide. The casualties totalled over 900 Kuki people dead (a significant number of them women and

children), 350 uprooted villages, and more than 50,000 people displaced.

The degree of human rights violations committed by the NSCN-IM is reflected in the statement of Yambem Laba, a noted journalist from Manipur:

The Naga cry against human rights abuse perpetrated by the Indian army for over fifty years was, completely overshadowed by one incident of Zoupi village on 13 September 1993.

The above remark refers to one of the many incidents in which NSCN (IM) cadres at gunpoint tied up and massacred 107 Kuki men (87 died at the spot; 20 later succumbed to injuries), butchering them with matchetes and spears. In fact the Nagas served notice to the Kukis to quit Zoupi village by 15 September. In spite of the people leaving the village on the 13th, two days ahead of the deadline served, they were butchered. This reveals the treacherous mentality of the NSCN-IM.

In addition, Dr Isak, Medical Officer of Chandel, who conducted the post-mortem of one of the three women raped and killed by the NSCN (IM) guerrillas at Moltuh village in 1992, reported:

Face blindfolded. Gang raped before being killed. Throat split up with knife. Left portions of the skull completely battered up. Left breast badly bruised. A piece of stick measuring about seven inches was found inserted in her vagina.

Pu Tobu Kevichusa, Secretary of Naga National Council statement at the funeral service of Pu Mangkholen Hangsing, IAS, Commissioner of Taxation and Excise is noteworthy:

Isak and Muivah, the leaders of NSCN (IM), has proclaimed among the international community that the Government of India have killed innocent Nagas and abused their human rights. On the contrary, here is a stark example of their role

of engaging in fratricidal activity by killing blameless people like Mangkholen to benefit their sectarian policy.

The atrocities committed on the Kukis and on those who stand for justice clearly violate not only basic human rights, but also contradict NSCN-IM's slogan, 'Nagaland for Christ'. Rather surprisingly, many people – both within India and in the international community – are more concerned with Nagas' self-determination and violations of their human rights by the Indian security forces without ever a thought regarding the NSCN (IM)-led Naga violation of human rights against the Kukis! The KNO possesses and will produce at the appropriate time, concrete evidence of NSCN (IM)'s brutal murders and other atrocities. These include photographs of those killed and mass graves of slain Kuki villagers (where it was impossible to have individual burials), dates and places of killings and a list of Kuki villages uprooted.

Ever since the 1950s and 1960s, the Kuki people have submitted numerous memorandums demanding a separate state and also appealed for protection and restoration of their uprooted villages. Unfortunately, the government of India and Burma have so far chosen to ignore the Kuki people's positive overtures. The indifference of the Government of India has resulted in escalation of atrocities against Kukis that beggar description. The government, instead of addressing the Kuki question, has kept up its negotiations with NSCN-IM, the perpetrators of Kuki genocide, while completely evading talks with KNO. In August 2005, KNO signed the Suspension of Operations with the Indian Army, which represented the Central Government, in order to facilitate political dialogue with Government of India. To date, talks between Government of India and KNO have not begun. This speaks volumes about the indifference and extreme callousness of the GOI towards the Kuki people and their problems.

In the meantime, capitalizing on the vulnerability of the Kukis, the Meitei insurgent outfits have infiltrated Kuki areas in large numbers, where they have set up bases and wantonly indulged in inhuman harassment and torture of Kuki villagers. They also launch attacks on Indian Security Forces, mindless of the reprisals on civilian Kukis, and engage in laying anti-personnel Landmines to the detriment of the village folks. Many Kukis are therefore either killed or incapacitated by landmine explosions. The Meitei insurgents who have understanding with the military junta are also operating from Burmese territory. The Government of India remains a mute spectator to these sufferings of its Kuki citizens and has failed utterly to protect them.

In Burma, the Kuki people have been subjected to persecution and torture by the state machinery dominated by the majority Burmans, ever since the 1962 military coup under General Newin. The Government of Revolutionary Council headed by General Newin had since 1967 forcibly evicted more than 20,000 Kuki villagers in Kabaw Valley during the iniquitous 'Khadawmi Operation' led by U Muang Maung into neighbouring India. The pretext for the eviction was either non-possession of National Registration Cards or possessing bogus ones. The rightist military introduced the system of National Registration for citizens soon after it assumed power in 1962. This was intended primarily to deprive citizenship to ethnic minorities, including millions of ethnic Tamil Indian Businessman in and around Rangoon. Besides, the Registration Cards, meant to be issued free of cost were illegally sold at a high price. From the early 1980s there have been renewed attempts at displacing the Kukis and transplanting ethnic Burmese population in the Kabaw valley. Some existing examples of such transplanted settlements are Ongchija, Tanan, Myothit, Nanaungow, Mantong and Ywatha, which were deliberately set up by the military junta. Besides such acts of discrimination, the junta has been extracting forced-labour from Kuki villagers in the Kabaw Valley and dispossessed the Kukis

of many of their villages. Construction of new churches has also been categorically stopped.

The military junta in Burma has also persistently pursued a policy of Burmanization of periphery minority ethnic communities. This has been carried out through a process of assimilation, acculturation, suppression and forcible imposition of the Burmese language and the Buddhist religion. In the course of action, Churches of many Kuki villages in Myanmar has been burnt down. The pastors and community leaders have been tortured, and villages forced to move in order to set up Burmese (pro-military Junta) settlements or Army bases. The State Law and Order Restoration Council, which grabbed power in the post 1988 democratic uprising, intensified the persecution and eviction of Kuki citizens. The State Peace and Development Council, the new face of the Junta, despite promises to restore democracy, has displayed no change whatsoever in their approach towards the ethnic nationalities. Neither has the military's disdain and mockery of democracy and national reconciliation diminished.

The Kuki National Organisation's objectives and policy: Re-Unification of our ancestral lands divided between India, Burma and Bangladesh..

The Kuki National Organisation is committed to self-determination for the Kuki people in their ancestral lands. The KNO's present definition of self-determination is the right of the Kukis to govern their own affairs within a defined territorial entity (Statehood), one in India (Western Zale'n-gam) and another in Burma (Eastern Zale'n-gam) as a first step towards re-unification of the Kukis. Our forefathers, the patriots of the Kuki Rising of 1917-1919, fought the British colonialists to preserve Kuki polity and the people. In like manner, KNO stands for statehood to secure the ancestral lands of the Kuki people, their identity, culture, customs and traditions. These fundamentals are essential to promote an all round development of our people. KNO will steadfastly strive to achieve these noble objectives. The objectives

are based on the historicity of Kuki ancestral polity and territory. The KNO calls upon the entire Kuki populace around the world to come together as a nation whose people share a common origin, culture, customs and traditions. We also appeal to every capable Kuki to contribute his or her strength in the struggle we have embarked upon to redeem our national pride and heritage and to establish freedom, liberty, security and welfare, which is our people's right in Zale'n-gam.

The present political objectives of KNO - statehood for Kuki ancestral lands, each within the Union of India and Union of Burma - provide clear evidence of our conciliatory stance towards the respective governments. We urge the governments of India and Burma to pay heed to the numerous pleas and memoranda that have been placed before them to date and expedite the process of granting statehood to the Kuki people. KNO has opted for a conciliatory stand and anticipates the governments of India and Burma will reciprocate meaningfully.

The KNO also call upon the United Kingdom to facilitate this process and thereby help remedy the present predicament of the Kukis and the state of their ancestral territory for which they are historically responsible. We appeal to Germany and Japan, the partners of the Kuki people during World War I and World War II, to extend due moral and political support for the realization of KNO's objectives.

With statehood and its vital elements of self-governance, its inherent infrastructure and other provisions, our socio-economic and political condition that was destabilized by the British and neglected by the successor states would appropriately be restored. A new era of peace and development that shall dawn upon the Kuki people once our objectives are realized will create conditions that engender peaceful co-existence with our neighbouring communities, which is essential to develop a symbiotic relationship and join the global march towards progress.

The KNO adheres to a reconciliatory approach towards our neighbours, particularly the Nagas and Meiteis. With regard to the Meitei people, the Kukis, aware that the ancestral lands of both peoples, the Hills and Plains, were being clubbed together as a single entity by the powers that be, and vigilant of the possibility therefore of both peoples losing their ancestral territories, national freedom and sovereign inheritance to the emergent Indian state-nation if the Manipur Ningthou were to sign the merger proposal, vehemently opposed it. The Meiteis failed to appreciate such statesmanly opposition of Kuki Chiefs to Manipur being annexed in 1949 into the Indian Union, and instead continue to make every effort to trivialize this significant effort made by the Kukis to preserve both peoples' political and territorial inheritance. Furthermore, when the NSCN (IM) launched the ethnic cleansing of the Kukis in the hills of Manipur in the 1990s, both the revolutionary and civil society groups of the Meiteis did not intervene to prevent the Kuki genocide. We therefore urge our one-time Meitei brothers to withdraw their armed cadres from Kuki territory. They are also urged to immediately abandon setting up landmines in Kuki territory. The KNO are signatory to the Deed of Commitment to ban landmines, an initiative of Geneva Call, Geneva.

The NSCM (IM)'s aggression on the Kukis from 1990s that went beyond traditional warfare has left an indelible mark on the minds of the Kuki people. The KNO would like to remind them of a statement made by the Kuki National Assembly:

While our heartfelt sympathy and good wishes go to the Nagas for the achievement of their demand, they may at the same time be cautioned not to come in the way of similar demand of the Kukis (Vide- A Kuki State - A Memorandum of the KNA to the Prime Minister of India, 1960).

The KNO, therefore urge both the Nagas and Meiteis that as partners in observing and claiming human rights, let aggression and intimidation be shunned, and civilized and charitable conduct

be our crowning glory. The KNO, in order to create peaceful co-existence among the Kukis, Nagas and Meiteis within their respective territories, is open to a tripartite dialogue. For this to succeed the later two communities must relinquish their territorial acquisitiveness and hegemonic policies.

One thing I have seen is that freedom is fundamental with every Kuki people- it runs in their veins. Therefore, in generations to come there will never be any dearth of Kuki freedom fighters. The Zale'n-gam of my ancestors is not beyond dreams to realize - it is within our grips. I exhort all my brothers and sisters to strive together to recover Zale'n-gam as I can not breathe otherwise.

Though our land has faced depredations by outsiders for many decades, I fervently believe that the sacrifices of our patriots will not be in vain. Zale'n-gam represents the collective history and future of the Kuki people. The day is not far-off when the vision of Zale'n-gam's restoration is completed: the day when the flag of Zale'n-gam is hoisted permanently in our land. On that day all our losses will be restored and the suffering of our past well rewarded. Zale'n-gam will flourish once again and take its rightful place in the community of nations.

God bless Zale'n-gam the Kuki People!

CHAPTER XXII

MY VISION FOR THE KUKI PEOPLE

History has never been kind to people who cannot rise to create and write it. Our forefathers have created history, in a way that perhaps can never be equaled in terms of the courage it takes, if not the scale, in resisting subjugation by the mighty British Empire of the time. But courage and valor alone proved inadequate before the might and power of the British Empire, leading to their subjugation, but not before putting up a brave fight for two long years. As history is always written by the victors, our forefathers failed to rise to write history. Today, as a consequence, almost a century later, we find ourselves struggling in every sphere of human life. On top of that, we are embroiled in internecine rivalries orchestrated by wily powers and scheming neighbors who can only stand to lose if we unite. Our vision has been blurred by narrow bands of intense colored clan fabrics and petty growths of fence bushes planted by detractors and self proclaimed

benefactors. While the world had long performed the last rites on colonialism, or the rule of others, the Kukis have yet to realize self-rule, the postcolonial mantra. We continue to be victims of sub-colonial imperialism that resulted from indiscretions of a hasty and retreating British power that failed to concern themselves with finer details of liberation of each people they ruled.

We have seen it all, heard it all and been through it all-our sufferings-as a people. Words cannot capture the pain and agony in our hearts as our land lay devastated, our forests disappear, our rivers dry up, our people perish in abject poverty. We want answers, scramble for answers, blamed ourselves and entered into brawls pointing fingers at each other. As though starved canines in cages, we fought over crumbs of meat lobbed at us while the lobbers watch in evil amusement. They found delight with the degree to which they raised mistrust and instilled discord amongst us. A new system of authority had been imposed upon our land and its people. While the imposed system i e democracy, however good, slowly make our traditional system, i e Chieftainship, wane and wither no sincere efforts are made to install the new system and make it deliver the goods and effectively replace the old.

Fellow countrymen, I know we take great pride in our rich heritage, our past glory and the legendary feats of our illustrious, brave and unrelenting forefathers. But let us for a moment reflect whether they would be happy to see our state today, whether we are worthy of their pride in our efforts to take our people forward, whether we have been able to match, if not better, their feat in emblazing the trails of history with Kuki valiance, pride and unity. Let us for a moment rise above the dusty blur and take in the bigger picture.

The world has been through a chain of historical evolution. From warring tribal groups to conglomerates of tribes fighting for territory and power, came little kingdoms growing to become huge kingdoms. The stronger kingdoms then conquered weaker kingdoms and heralded the age of empires. Empires broke down

into national states formed by people sharing common languages customs and culture and a common heritage. National states have gone on to form alliances and fought each other in the world theatre with unprecedented destruction. The alliances also crumbled and in their place have slowly but surely emerged corporate and business empires, first within the national states and then across boundaries, across regions and across all barriers. Feudal states to kingdoms to empires to nations to alliances to economic blocks to globalization, in short describes this evolutionary sequence. The question here is "Where are we?" Have we been left behind, and if so where? And where do we catch up with the world and how?

My beloved brethren, we need to see reality as it is before we can even begin to think of redeeming our nation and our glorious past. Some grim realities facing us today are so pervasive that they often shield the possibility of aspiring for an alternate reality from our imagination.

Despite our independent existence prior to British incursions into and subsequent subjugation of, our ancestral lands the post colonial states denied any form of recognition to our right to self government. The territorial limits of the new administrative units i e states, were demarcated without taking us into confidence whether in India, Burma or Bangladesh. We have reconciled ourselves to this reality in good faith and as a gesture of trust in the democratic system laid out before us, promising equality before the law and of opportunities. However, what followed since 1947 is testimony to the utter neglect and discrimination of our land and people, and the hollowness of the promises of equality. What instead emerged has been the appropriation of a majority over our land by the dominant communities who have by virtue of their numbers seized power within the new system without the desirable responsibility to serve each and every citizen equally and without any discrimination. This is a reality that we must perceive, a reality that we must challenge, and a reality that we

must change to our requirement. Recognizing a reality is different from being overwhelmed by it. We need to set our minds free to get freedom. We must shed that mentality of helplessness, of surrendering to the harsh reality imposed upon our people and our land, that mentality of trying to cope with it however uncomfortable it may be. That is precisely what the appropriators of our rights wanted, and that precisely is what we must rise up to resist. We must realize our capability to transform realities, change systems and boundaries to meet our requirements. Government is nothing but of the people, for the people and by the people, as famously stated by Abraham Lincoln, the great American President while defining Democracy. If we feel the government is not fitting into this description, we must fight to make it so, not lament over it.

The Indian state of Manipur is where a large chunk of our ancestral territory has been incorporated. But 60 odd years after Indian independence, there are telling evidences of the designed neglect our land and people have been subjected to. Roads, the life veins of a territory and its people, remain deplorable in all Kuki inhabited districts of Chandel, Churachandpur, Sadar Hills and Tamenglong. Valley-based contractors who are hand in glove with Meitei Engineers in the state PWD have consistently siphoned off the bulk of funds meant to widen and improve or maintain these roads into building mansions in the valley. Teachers in Government schools located in the hills draw their salary from the comforts of their homes in the valley while the children in these schools stay deprived of education, the basic factor for human development. Funds for school building and other infrastructure in the hill villages have all along been diverted to build palatial houses for Engineers, Education officials and contractors who are almost always people from the valley. The cream of all such corruption has always been had by the Ministers in the state government, mostly, again, either Meiteis or Manipur Nagas. No institution of importance and no infrastructure of any prominence have yet to be located in the Kuki territories.

The Tangkhul Nagas, greedy of Kuki ancestral lands falling within the districts of Ukhrul, Senapati, Tamenglong and Chandel, have began surreptitious elimination of prominent Kuki leaders in Ukhrul district way back in the 1950s in a diabolic strategy to instill fear amongst Kuki villagers and to scare them off their land over time. One of the first instances of the targeted killings was the murder of Pu Chungkholet Touthang of Phaikoh village, a known Kuki figure, alongside three able-bodied Kuki men and two women villagers in the year 1957 by Tangkhul assassins. During the same year, in Nagaland, Naga insurgents instigated by Tangkhuls killed Pamang Haokip, younger brother of the chief of Akhen village, alongside two of his friends. The latest instance was the murder of Pu Shingkhokai alias Pakang Haokip, Chingsanglakpa of Maokot village in Ukhrul District, a vocal, chief and tall figure among the Kukis who stood on the front line of resisting Tangkhul strategy to usurp Kuki territory in Ukhrul and adjoining areas, on 26.05.87. When the Tangkhul-Nagas realized that even ordinary Kukis are made of sterner stuff than ones to be easily haunted out of their land, and when Muivah realized that, more than the state government of Manipur, it were the brave and unrelenting Kuki villagers who stood in the way of his ultimate goal to have the four hill districts of Manipur merged into Nagaland, he resorted to a desperate plan. Kuki villagers in the said districts were served quit notices in the second half of 1992. Simultaneously, a genocidal campaign was unleashed on unsuspecting Kuki villagers by merciless marauders taking the guise of a certain Nagalim Guard, trained and led by NSCN (IM). The Nagalim Guard was nothing but a thinly veiled cover for NSCN (IM) to avoid endangering the prospects of a ceasefire agreement with the GOI and possible political dialogue thereafter. Since the Kuki ownership of land stands to cripple all the grand plans of the NSCN (IM) based on deceptive claims about the four hill districts being owned and inhabited exclusively by Nagas, their plan was to purge these districts of Kukis. The half baked strategy of the NSCN (IM) to deprive Kukis of their land by

resorting to genocidal brutality is demonic, to say the least But the irony lies somewhere else The state machinery, led by a Tangkhul Naga and dominated by the majority Meiteis, remained a mute spectator to such inhuman slaughter of innocent Kuki villagers No sincere efforts were made, rather, the killings were deliberately allowed to escalate In 2003, distraught at the inaccessibility of government offices in district headquarters and other attendant facilities for Kukis living within Naga dominated districts of Ukhrul, Senapati and Tamenglong, following the NSCN (IM) orchestrated genocide on the Kukis, all Kuki chiefs of villages in these districts made a representation to the Chief Minister of Manipur They demanded their villages to be brought under the administrative jurisdiction of respectively appropriate and adjacent Kuki dominated administrative units of Sadar Hills ADC, Churachandpur and Chandel districts. Villagers in these Kuki villages had been denied their right to live as free citizens, as their lives were in grave danger if they were to approach the government, whose offices are located in the Naga dominated towns of Senapati, Ukhrul and Tamenglong, for any interface A testifying example would be that of the chief of Tujang Vaichong village. Pu Khothang Kippen, aged 54, who never returned home after he ventured to go to Senapati District Headquarters on 27-6-93 to seek some relief for his villagers, put under seize by the Nagalim Guard His remains were later found dumped in a river A concerned and responsible state government would have promptly intervened, or at the very least, promptly considered such an appeal from chiefs of so many villages to have a safe access to the government It would have tried to effectively redress the grievances faced by a section of its citizenry, one way or the other However the Manipur State government, led and dominated by the majority Meiteis, lent a deaf ear to such a well meaning plea and chose to turn a nelson's eye towards the deprivation, slaughter and sufferings of Kuki villagers On the other hand, several settlements of the Meitei people located inside Churachandpur district are included in the electoral list of

constituencies in Bishnupur District and residents of such settlements made to avail access to government through the Bishnupur District administration

In recent times, valley based insurgents who have the sole objective of usurping Kuki territories disguised in their demand for a sovereign Manipur, penetrated our land and wreaked terror on our people. We cannot forget the assault on the modesty of our womenfolk by Meitei insurgents in Parbung and its surrounding areas. We cannot forget the forced labor they extract from our villagers there They have also mined large tracts of our territories in Chandel District in their cowardice, causing death and injury to many of our innocent women and children as they go about their daily chores All the while, the state government would act ignorant as long as possible and until our cries become insuppressible

More recently, the Meitei people had stalled the delimitation of Assembly Constituencies in the state just because it stands to give more shares of seats in the State Assembly to tribal Kukis and Nagas To briefly bring the issue to focus, the Delimitation of Assembly Constituencies in Manipur was stalled by a stay order of the Imphal Bench of the Guwahati High Court on the basis of a writ petition filed by the All Political Parties, Manipur (APPM) However, the Supreme Court had impugned the stay order of the lower court and set the stage for the Delimitation Commission to complete its task in respect of the State of Manipur after several hearings on a writ petition filed by Indo-Myanmar Tribal Development Association (IMTDA) on behalf of various tribal organizations in the State Thereafter, the Government of Manipur and the All Political Parties of Manipur, having been defeated in the apex court, resorted to all available political pressure on the Central leadership to allow status quo in the State to be maintained and had obtained an ordinance to that effect What is the status quo? The existing number of reserved seats for the ST population in the State of Manipur is 19 out of the total 60 Assembly seats.

which works out about 31 6% despite the fact that the ST population of the State as per the 1971 census is more than 33 per cent This means, even in the existing set up, a fair share has not bee given to the tribals.

The tribal population in the State of Manipur as per the 1971 census stood at above 33 per cent This percentage forms the basis of reservation of seats in the State Legislature and in Government Employment opportunities, reservation of seats in educational institutions, etc. The provisional census of the State came up with a figure of 23,89,496 with the ST population at 9,63,849, which works out to 40 33%. However, the population growth in three sub-divisions of Senapati district, namely, Maomaram, Paomata and Purul, were found to be abnormally high with over 165% increase over the 1991 census. In view of this, the Census Commission published an estimated figure for the three sub-divisions based on the average decadal growth rate obtained in the State The final figure of the population of Manipur as per census 2001 therefore stands at 22,91,125 out of which 8,65,478 is the ST population, constituting 37.77% (38%) of the State's population.

Now, Article 332(3) of the Constitution of India lays down that the number of seats reserved for the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly of any State shall bear, as nearly as maybe, the same proportion to the total number of seats in the Assembly as the population of the SC/ST in the State or part of the State, as the case may be, in respect of which seats are so reserved, bears to the total population of the State Further, sub-clause (iii) of proviso I of the Guidelines and Methodology for Delimitation provides that the number of seats to be reserved for the SCs and STs in the House of the People and State Legislature Assemblies shall be re-worked out on the basis of 2001 census.

This implies that the number of seats reserved for STs in the Manipur State Assembly shall have to be increased from the

existing 31 6% to around 37 77%. In numerical terms, the existing 19 seats reserved for STs needs to be increased to either 22 at 36 6% or 23 at 38 33%. In simple language, a minimum of three more seats should be added to the seats reserved for STs

The All Political Party Manipur and the State's SPF Government dominated by the majority Meitei Community in the state, whose interests would be adversely affected by a change in the status quo, could not accept the thought of having to cede a minimum of three legislative seats to the tribals, despite their clamor for the integrity of the State. Secondly, once the changed proportion of the ST population to the State's total population as per census 2001 is made to reflect in the composition of the State Legislature, the natural process would be to implement the changed ratio in the matter of reservations in employment, education and other governmental programmes as well

Whereas the census 2001 figure for the State has the ST population at 37 77%, they wanted the representation of STs in the State Legislature to be frozen at 31.6% till the 2031 census, not to mention ST representation in the Government bureaucracy educational institutions, etc.

While all these reflect an unabashed communal government on the one hand, it also reveals the fact that the meitei community who have been dominating the state government of Manipur made it a point not to develop Kuki areas, knowing at the back of their minds that it does not form part of Manipur as it were, and thus not likely to remain part of it in the future This in fact is a recognition of Kuki ownership of land by our age-old neighbors the meitei people themselves

But how long can a people suffer such a state of discrimination, neglect and deprivation? Deprivation, of the right to live as a people the right to self-govern ourselves and to plan our future, the right to secure our land and people, give security of life and livelihood to our men and women to provide welfare for our

widows and orphans, those maimed and handicapped by the brutal assault on our security of life, and most importantly, the right to provide opportunities to the thousands of Kuki young boys and girls to pursue their dreams. Enough is enough!

While nations of the world are competing to give the best education, the best healthcare, the most efficient social security and most suitable environment for development of entrepreneurship to its citizens, we can no longer reconcile ourselves to crumbs that fall off others' tables. It is unfortunate that while the world is busy turning their swords into ploughshares, we have been forced to turn our ploughshares into swords, for survival comes before everything else, and the very survival of the Kukis have been threatened.

I am a Kuki chief by lineage, and used to work in a bank. My wife was in a central government service and we could have lived reasonably well. I was happily involved in the Ministry of the Kingdom besides my job at the bank. We were blessed with five wonderful children, two girls and three boys. I have five brothers, all of whom are well settled in life. My life as an individual could have been without envy. I was supposed to be contented with life and indeed I was, till evil took over the NSCN (IM) leadership in orchestrating an outrageous genocide on innocent Kukis. Even after the slaughters began, I held on to my family, mourned the dead by taking leave from office, helped the bereaved by doling out cash and kind at my disposal. Kuki brethren knocking on my door for alms grew by the day, and as the genocide went on taking its toll unabated, the count for the dead and missing grew by the day, and the bereaved to be mourned became overwhelmingly numerous. My leave at office spent, my resources for alms and aid drying up, and sleep becoming impossible with the all too frequent sight of suffering and misery of fellow Kukis, life had posed a question before me.

Just before the NSCN (IM) began killing innocent Kuki civilians, I had started a daily routine of fasting and praying in the mornings,

and my prayer used to be for Christ's salvation to every Kuki in Burma, Bangladesh and India, so that though deprived of our due share on earth, the Almighty would compensate Kukis in heaven with abundance. Days went by, weeks turning into months and months accumulating to years, with the killers of innocent Kuki women and children continuing their brutal incursions into defenceless Kuki villages. It was abundantly clear that the state authorities were either helpless or were in complicity with the murderous Brigade of the NSCN (IM) by their act of omission and in an act of commission. The central government was primarily to be gleefully unconcerned with the gross human rights violations of its citizens (Kukis), on a flimsy pretext of law and order being a State subject, which though, as later on revealed, was not out of jurisdictional limitations or cruel indifference, but a designed oversight allowing the slaughters to continue so as to score counter points against the NSCN (IM)'s vociferous claims at International Fora, of Human rights abuse by Indian Forces in the name of counter insurgency.

In such testing circumstances, apart from seeking God's protection, it is human to look out for forces of protection. The Kuki National Army (KNA) was in the whispers of every Kuki and tales of KNA cadres' valiant and combat skills filled the air as Kukis, desperate for protection of their lives and properties and disillusioned with the inaction of the Indian Government, latched their hopes onto the KNA to salvage the sinking Kuki Ship. However the initial trail blazing days of the KNA came to a sudden halt with the regrettable assassination of its Founder Chief Pu Thangkholun Haokip. Thereafter I perceived the KNA falling prey to internal suspicion and potent factional kinships. Pained to the core at such development, I volunteered to mediate between the rival camps in an effort to bring about a compromise and put the KNA back on track. In the process, both sides expressed their inability to accept the leadership of the other side and urged me to lead the re-unified KNA if I was really so concerned about unity and fighting for the Kuki cause. I was

stuck in a point of no retreat. I wrestled God on the developments asking, "God, I only asked you to guide me and bless my efforts so that all Kukis see you and thereby secure a place for every Kuki in your Kingdom. I have never sought your help in establishing an earthly place for the Kukis - Why this, now?" As I struggled with myself, doubting my ability to lead a national movement and handling the huge responsibility it demands, it dawned on me slowly that without securing an earthly place, a lebensraum, for the Kukis where they peacefully worship the Lord God, securing a place for each Kuki in God's Kingdom is a tough proposition. I took that to be God's answer to my question to Him.

Even after I had settled the issue with God, things were never going to be easy. My wife, whom I love most dearly, asked me, 'God has blessed us so abundantly, giving us both paying jobs, five lovely children, and so much more. But you decided to choose a life away from it all. Don't you love me anymore? Or have I displeased you anyhow? Why do you have to do this while even those whose families are directly affected by the killings decided it wiser to stay away from armed movement, she asked?" My brother who is also well settled with a good job and a family to wish for could not simply accept my decision. He told me, "You cannot take this decision on your own. You are the eldest in our family, and if you are fully convinced that the cause is worthy, I should also resign from my job and follow you." My mother, seeing I had decided and was beyond persuasion, composed a lamentation, which in gist says,

Mine, whom I had first held on my lap,
You've chosen to love Motherland over me,
In the midst of petty conceit, oh, hard times,
You must be tired, my first child,
Take a mother's blessing in your journey,
That the message of hope you preach,
Like a vine in fertile soil spread to
All corners of our land and inspire

When the nation's on edge and at trial
None came forth to stand and fight,
Why, my precious first born stallion?
Bear ye fruit, all to harvest on redemption

May, his name spread far on the land,
Of his good judgments you guided,
May, his sweat bring rich harvests for all
This I beseech thee, Almighty God!

To my wife, I said, 'I am fully aware of God's blessings in my life and I love you like I always have, and you have cause me no ill will. My decision has been taken to dedicate my life for our people and our land. This misery has to be ended and while those bereaved should fill for the deceased, God has spared us of bereavement so that I can stand up for our people. The injustice done on our people needs to be told to the world and the future of our people secured to prevent a repeat of such inhuman suffering in the hands of evil forces.

This is a brief account of my life and how I plunged into the enormous responsibility of leading our movement for a lebensraum or exclusive space where we can live, grow and progress as a people. I do not know for sure if God has chosen me like he had chosen Moses. But I am certain of one thing, and

let me be very clear on this, that the movement is not about me nor do I claim anointment by the Almighty. The movement is about ordinary Kukis who struggle daily to make ends meet coming together to shape their future, to say enough of the present imposed grim realities and to strive together for a different reality one which they deserve as brave sons and daughters of the brave warriors of the Kuki Rising of1917-19. It is about securing their future and the future of our sons and daughters, and their future generations. It is about securing our land for posterity, about giving the present generation of Kukis a decent, respectable and adequate means of livelihood, adequate enough to give their children the best education, decent clothing and healthy food. It is about giving to ourselves good roads, safe drinking water, good schools and a serving government that facilitate and promote our human development. It is about harnessing the brimming talent of our youth in games and sports by providing them facilities and equipments to train and refine their God given talents and to excel in them to compete in the world arena. I am confident that this movement will succeed because it is about us, our present and future and because I am convinced that every Kuki will be part of this march if not already, it is time to realize that it is about our dignity as individuals and as a nation, about our survival, our future and the security of our land and pride for posterity.

It is to this cause that brave young men and women have joined the ranks of our national army. In situations where the self-proclaimed protectors and benefactors have failed us, these men and women in uniform have served us, keeping their life on the line for our safety, braving the cold dark nights and fighting hunger and thirst as devoted sentinels so that our women and children can sleep in peace. Their bravery and sacrifices will go down in Kuki history. I am not blind to the occasional hardships these braves cause to common Kukis and I don't justify the hardship caused. However, as in everything else, we are at the beginning and still in the process of building ourselves, and many areas

need to be systematized and fine-tuned to suit our needs and requirements. Our army is no exception. It needs to be disciplined and that needs time and also need to be preceded by providing them well. Between fighting the enemy and being pushed by the forces of the imposed government, neither of these needs can yet be met to our satisfaction. For till such time, I implore our people to treat them as their own and give them the love and understanding they deserve for their timeless sacrifices. Then there are other brave sons and daughters of the land who are yet to see the gains of uniting under one banner in our stride towards the same goal. They still choose to trust others to help them redeem our rights. To them, I stretch my arms out wide and warm ready to embrace them, and to take them along and walk side by side with them towards our common goal, the moment they realize the untrustworthiness of those greedy for our land, the moment they realize how beautiful it is in the sight of God when brothers unite, the moment they realize the times are no longer for petty pursuits. Even as they are now, I salute their commitment and valour for the cause of the nation, which I do not doubt.

These men and women are but the flag bearers. Left to themselves, they cannot take us to our common destination. They need the full and unstinting support of every Kuki living in every part of the world. A revolution is not about an armed group of people effecting change by use of force. It is about the masses marching for change under directions laid out by visionary leaders and an armed group of volunteers giving protection to them and their cause. These are tough times in the life of our nation, and tough times call for tough decision towards unity. We can no longer afford to dwell on our petty differences. The toughest of times often are the most defining moments for a nation. Our defining moment in history has come. It is not the time for small plays and illusions of petty, divisive and exclusive welfare. It is not the time to indulge in petty squabbles over what we should call ourselves. History has people refer to us as Kukis and that is what the world has known us to be, and that is the only basis for our

claim over our land and heritage. Everyone of our tribesmen represented in alphabetical order from A-Z· Aimol, Anal .. Vaiphei and Zou need to come and join this march to carve a place for ourselves on the face of the earth by resurrecting Zale'n-gam, our God-given ancestral land and its rich heritage, and to take it forward to become a respected member in the comity of nations.

From the inception of the Kuki National Organisation in 1988, there has been unceasing endeavour to fulfil the ideology of Zale'n-gam, which is to reunite the entire Kuki people, both 'Old Kuki' and 'New Kuki' and also restore the territorial integrity of Kuki ancestral lands divided by the British between India and Burma, consequent to the Kuki Rising of 1917-1919. As president of KNO, I am pleased to extend heartfelt felicitations to Kuki National Front (Military Council), Kuki National Front (Zogam), United Socialist Revolutionary Army (Vaiphei and Simte), Zomi Revolutionary Front (Paite), United Komrem Revolutionary Army (Aimol, Chiru, Kom, Purum, Koireng Kolhen and Kharam), Zou Defence Volunteer and Hmar National Army for taking an unprecedented step to come together as one people of Zale'n-gam, particularly in order that we may achieve our desired political objectives In July 2007, two more groups were added: Kuki Liberation Army (Manipur) and Kuki Liberation Army (Assam). Today, in 2008, with the ground-breaking event of the United Old Kuki Liberation Army (Khoipu, Anal Maring etc) and the Kuki Revolutionary Front (Unification) also joining the groups sharing the KNO umbrella, the total number has risen to a formidable twelve

The unity of the Kuki people engendered by the ideology of Zale'n-gam is the first of its kind in the last fifty-plus years

When we shall have our land to ourselves, we would have bid bye to the unwieldy systems imposed on us We shall resurrect our traditional systems with necessary improvements to suit our needs, our developmental and progressive requirements Each

village, under the titular headship of the traditional chief, would govern their affairs through the village council elected by the villagers The Kuki government will provide assistance financially as well as with other resources needed for such activities that are not sufficiently available in the village. The virus of tribe recognition that has crippled our unity shall be erased, for we shall be grantors of recognition to other minorities in our state not seekers of recognition. We will only need our individual names to avail all benefits, which shall be given to each of us by our own government, in the truest sense of equality of rights and of opportunities. A new beginning shall dawn, when we rid our land and life of the ills thrust upon by the pretender governors of our land and build our lives, our institutions, our infrastructure needs, our economy and our reality by our own design and to suit our own needs.

Towards that new dawn where our nightmares become distant memories, towards that new beginning when we can prepare our future rather than repair our past, I urge you and every Kuki to add to the voice of our movement by sharing the vision, by adding to the vision, and by taking it forward till we reach that cherished goal and celebrate our coming into being.

The KNO resolves to resurrect the sovereignty of Zale'n-gam from the imposed regimes of the governments of India, Burma and Bangladesh. These countries do not have the right to rule over our people The tragedy of the past decade of the 1990s is sufficient evidence to manifest the plight of the Kukis that have occurred under the governments concerned The governments mentioned above have replaced the previous subjugation by the British of our people In retrospect, it is only right for the Kukis to believe that after the departure of the British, they should have been left alone to decide their own destiny, independent of others It is also fair to underline that for over sixty years the Kukis have meekly and optimistically integrated with the respective countries they have been included into. The result of that period is abysmal.

looking at the Kuki people and their status today! Taking all things into consideration, if the three governments have an iota of self-respect then, in the name of democracy, they must hasten to support the cause of the Kuki people for self-determination, rather than stall their progress

God bless Zale'n gam'

ANNEXURE 1

NEWS AND REPORTS

7G PR No. 02-12/04 Manmasi Dated 27 March 2004

Kuki National Organisation condemns the abduction of Herr Heinrich Wolfgang Grey

The Kuki National Organisation and its armed wing Kuki National Army strongly condemns the abduction of Herr Heinrich Wolfgang Grey by the Kuki Liberation Army, on Sunday 23 March 2003. Herr Grey, who is an employee of the German-based Church Development Service (EED), arrived in Imphal, the capital of Manipur, on a mission to benefit the public, i.e. to inspect the activities of non-governmental organisations funded by Germany.

The KNO urge the KLA to release Herr Grey without any further delay. KLA must realise that Kuki had good relations with the Germans during WWI, which must not be spoiled. To this effect

KLA is advised to take note of General DK Palit? observation in Sentinels of the North-East: The Assam Rifles (1984, 81, Palit & Palit, New Delhi)' ?Mention has been made earlier that the Kukis had been encouraged by emissaries from Bengali nationalists in Assam, but any thought that the Germans had also had a hand in it had not occurred to any one. This matter, Palit continues, came to light at Tamu in May 1918, where upon a Medical Officer on his round of inspection came upon some Sikhs of the Burma M P in a hut tearing up some papers they said they did not want. The M O. picked up some of the papers and found among them photos of two Germans, one in uniform On the back of one of them was written in Hindustani ?If you fall into rebel hands show these and they will not harm you

KLA must heed the call of KNO in the interest of the Kuki people. Failure to oblige will severely discredit the stand of KLA in Kuki politics and society.

Sd -

Kamkhenkap

Secretary, Information and Publicity

Kuki National Organisation (KNO)

MANMASI

De : Geneva Call [mailto:info@genevacall.org]

Envoyé : mercredi, 9. août 2006 15:25

À : destinataires inconnus:

Objet : Geneva Call Press Release : Kuki National Organisation signs Deed of Commitment to Ban AP landmines (message in html format)

The Kuki National Organisation (KNO) of Northeast India commits to the anti-personnel mine ban

Geneva, 9 August 2006 – Awareness and support to Geneva Call s action in India progresses as a second armed Non-State Actor the Kuki National Organisation (KNO) and its armed wings the Kuki National Army, the Kuki National Front (Military Council), the Kuki National Front (Zogram), the Zomi Revolutionary Front, the United Socialist Revolutionary Army the Zou Defence Volunteers, the Hmar National Army and the United Kom Rem Revolutionary Army, committed today to a total ban on anti-personnel mines by signing Geneva Call's Deed of Commitment (DoC) on 9 August, in the Alabama Room, in the City Hall of Geneva.

Operating in Northeast India and Northwest Burma/Myanmar the KNO was formed in 1988. Its ideology is based on Zale n-gam, which relates to the ancestral freedom enjoyed by the Kuki people in their land. The KNO is asking India and Burma Myanmar to recognise and secure their land, culture and identity by according statehood to the Kukis within each country

In signing the DoC, the KNO has expressed its will to see the use of anti personnel (AP) mines in the region definitely banned: "The KNO has never used anti-personnel mines" says President PS Haokip, "It is against our culture to use such an indiscriminate weapon Nevertheless, the Kuki people have endured the consequences of the laying of mines by other armed groups operating in Northeast India and Northwest Burma "

Other armed Non-State Actors have laid mines along the Indian-Burmese border to stop Indian soldiers, but Kuki villagers and their cattle have been victimised. In addition, mines have been used by these groups in the Kuki hills of Manipur state, in Northeast India, resulting in the death and injury of many civilian Kukis.

President PS Haokip emphasises that "by signing the DoC, the KNO would like to add its voice to the global effort to ban mines. Having fallen victims to these weapons, we are very much aware of the human and economic disaster they represent for the civilian population and we wish to express our support to the international campaign to ban AP mines and to Geneva Call's action."

Geneva Call is an international humanitarian organisation dedicated to engaging armed Non-State Actors in mine-ban action. It provides a mechanism, complementary to the Convention on the prohibition of the use, stockpiling, production and transfer of anti personnel mines and on their destruction (the "Ottawa Convention"), which can only be signed by State Actors. Armed Non-State Actors can adhere to the ban on AP mines through their signature of Geneva Call's Deed of Commitment. This document drafted in the same spirit as the Ottawa Convention, takes into account the specificities of armed Non-State Actors and is as such a tailor made tool in the eradication process of AP mines.

To date, with the Kuki National Organisation, 31 armed groups have signed the Deed of Commitment.

For further information, please contact Katherine Kramer, Programme Director for Asia.

+41 22 879 10 54 or info@genevacall.org. End of press release.

Background on the Kuki National Organisation (KNO)

Aim/Objectives: Seeking Kuki statehood within India and Burma (Myanmar). According to the KNO president, the KNO objectives are the following: "KNO's principal objectives concern the resurrection of Zale'n-gam, the Kuki nation. In the first instance this relates to the nation-states of India and Burma, within which the British colonialists forcibly included the greater parts of Zale'n-gam. In this regard KNO's immediate objective is two-fold: a) for the historicity of Zale'n-gam's territorial integrity and sovereignty be recognised, b) if India and Burma want to integrate parts of Kuki territory within their respective nation this needs to be done by way of according statehood in each country. The KNO is open to dialogue along the stated objectives with the concerned governments. If amalgamation of Kuki territory is viewed as problematic, in the least, creation of two Kuki states is essential, one within Burma and the other within India. In keeping with its objectives, the KNO has adopted different strategies with regard to India and Myanmar. In India, they follow the policy of appeal and petition, whereas in Myanmar the KNO has resorted to violent means. Its cadres waged guerrilla warfare against the Military Junta between 1991 and 1999, mainly targeting patrol parties and steamers along the river Chindwin."

Background / History: Foundation: When & Why. The Kuki National Assembly was formed on 24 October 1946 in order to ask for statehood. As their appeals to the Government of India went unacknowledged, the Kuki joined the Mizo National Front movement in the 1960s to integrate their inhabited areas into what is presently known as Mizoram. However when the Mizo National Front (MNF) signed the Mizoram accord in 1986, Kuki areas were not included. Disappointed by MNF and GOI in the late 1980s a group of Kukis who later formed the KNO went to Kachin state in Burma to be trained by the Kachin Independence Organisation. At the Jangmol-Dingpi conference in 1989 Kuki elders and leaders from both India and Burma attended the

conference to formalise the KNO as the provisional government of Zale'n gam, the Kuki nation 4 Peace effortsA ceasefire between the army and the KNO was signed on 10 August 2005 The ceasfire agreement was extended in June 2006 for an indefinite period s The groups that have joined the KNO since August 2005 are the the Kuki National Front (Military Council), the Kuki National Front (Zogam), the Zomi Revolutionary Front, the United Socialist Revolutionary Army, the Zou Defence Volunteers, the Hmar National Army, and the United Kom Rem Revolutionnary Army Ethno-cultural dimenstonKuki is one of three major ethnic groups in Manipur along with Metter and Naga. The Metteis, mostly settled in the valley, constitute the largest segment of state populations and are classified as non-tribal; the hills are the abode of the remaining Naga and Kuki groups with their 29 sub-tribes In the absence of social homogeneity (the Vaishnavite Hindu Metteis are debarred from special constitutional privileges granted to the largely Christian Nagas and Kukis) these various ethnic groups maintain their respective distinct identity.The unequal tribal non-tribal and inter-tribal power relations have played a major role in most of the tenstons between the ethnic groups that has led to loss of life and property However, self-determination rather than religious, cultural or economic factors has been a major factor in the ethnic conflicts in the North-East

Date of creation 1988 Organisational Decision Making Structure Relation between political and military wing The Kuki National Army (KNA) is the military wing of the KNO It was established in 1998 According to the KNO, its cadre strength is 2,000 In addition to the KNA the Kuki National Front (Military Council) (KNF-MC) the Kuki National Front (Zogam) (KNF-Z), the Zomi Revolutionary Front (ZRF), the United Socialist Revolutionary Army (USRA), the Zou Defence Volunteers (ZDV), the Hmar National Army (HNA), and the United Kom Rem Revolutionnary Army (UKRA) constitute the armed wing of the KNO

eaders PS Haokip is the president of KNO and supreme commander of the armed cadres The commanders of the armed wings are as follows • KNA, S Robert• KNF-MC TH German Haokip• KNF Z, Joshua Haokip• USRA, Lalmunthang Vaphei• ZRF, PS Hangshing• ZDV, Kamkhenpao Zou• UKRA Thangbo Kilong• HNA, Thangsang HmarEach commander is also a cabinet member of the KNO.

Geographic coverage Kuki populated territory includes areas in Assam , Tripura, Mizoram, Nagaland, and Manipur in Ind a , and Sagaing Division and the Chin Hills in Burma , and in Bangladesh the Chittagong Hill tracts.10

Relation with other NSAs Partnershipsa) In NE IndiaThe KNO has partnership with the National Socialist Council of Nagaland - Khaplang (NSCN-K), however denies links with the United National Liberation Front (UNLF), the Assam-based United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA), or the Indo-Burma Revolutionary Front (IBRF) In 2000, as a bulwark against infiltration of alien groups into their areas, the KNO initiated the formation of the Indigenous Peoples Revolutionary Army (IPRA IPRA is comprised of KNA, Kuki National Front (KNF), Zomi Revolutionary Army (ZRA), Hmar People's Council (HPC) and Kuki National Front Military Council (KNF-MC) b) In Burma MyanmarThe Kuki National Organization maintains association with Kachin Independent Organisation (KIO) Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB), and particularly with Wa, Palaung, Lahu, Arakan and Pa-oh peoples Representatives of the KNO have also met the Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB, an umbrella organization, with a view to becoming a member The KNO is also a member of the Federation of Ethnic Nationalities of Burma (FENB).

Landmines IEPs In 2000, the Landmine Monitor Report identified the KNA territory in Burma as territory likely to be mined, however, made no indication that the KNA used mines

1 Kuki National Army. http://www.satp.org

2 The Kuki People. http: /www.kukiforum.com (written by the KNO president)

3 Huge support for act repeal, The Telegraph, 1 February 2006, accessed at http: /www.ipcs.org/North_east_archives.jsp

4 Upadhyay R . Manipur : In a strange whirlpool of Cross-Current Insurgency 03 Jan 2005 http ://www.saag.org/papers13/paper1210.html

5 India . Tens of thousands newly displaced in north-eastern and central states Internal Dipslacement Monitoring Centre and Norwegian Refugee Council, http.://www.internal-displacement.org, 9 February 2006

6 KNO Statement made by PS Haokip, president of Kuki National Organisation, on the occasion of signing the Deed of Commitment to ban landmines held at Geneva on Wednesday 9 August 2006



L-R P ... P.S. Haokip, Ms Elisabeth Reusse-Decrey, Mr Dominique Louis

Thank you Mr Dominique Louis, Deputy Head of Protocol of the Republic and Canton of Geneva and Ms Elisabeth Reusse-Decrey President of Geneva Call for inviting the Kuki National Organisation to come to Geneva to sign the Deed of Commitment to ban landmines in this historic Alabama Room, where the Washington Treaty of 1872 was signed.

The Kuki National Organisation was formed in 1988. Its ideology is based on Zale'n-gam or 'freedom land' land of the Kuki people. The Kukis are an ethnic group, whom the British colonialists divided into 'Old Kuki' and 'New Kuki'. Following the 'Kuki rising' 1917-1919' (OIOC), Kuki territory was brought under the administrations of British India and British Burma. In both these countries, KNO is asking the respective governments to recognise and secure their land, culture and identity by according statehood to the Kukis.

Kuki lands in Northeast India are predominantly in the state of Manipur, where they own more than half the total area. In Burma, Kuki territory begins from the river Chindwin, stretching to the west bordering India, in the north, up to the river Nantalu and its surrounding regions, and to the south, the region up to the northern border of Chin State.

KNO signed a Suspension of Operations with the Indian army in August 2005. In June 2006, SoO was extended for an indefinite period. KNO's armed cadres are Kuki National Army, Kuki National Front (Military Council), Kuki National Front (Zogam), United Socialist Revolutionary Army, Zou Defence Volunteers, Zomi Revolutionary Front, United Kom Rem Revolutionary Army and Hmar National Army. The Kuki people have been victims of landmines planted by Manipur People's Army, a conglomeration of armed groups belonging to the Meitei community. These landmines have been planted in Kuki lands in the state of Manipur, and in the Kabow valley in Burma. To date, the official count of Kuki landmine victims is twenty five. More have died in 'crossfire' between the MPA cadres and the Indian Army. On 18

July 2006, MPA launched rockets at the Assam Rifles out-post in a Kuki village to which the Assam Rifles retaliated. Innocent civilians were affected on both side of the Indo-Burma border

KNO have only been able to take victims of landmine to the nearest hospital available. These hospitals are normally equipped to provide basic medical treatment. For example, an operation to install artificial limbs has to be done in major cities like Kolkata or Delhi. Such operations are prohibitive financially, and there are no NGOs that work with these cases. KNO would appreciate assistance in providing appropriate medical treatment and facilities to rehabilitate these victims. KNO would also like to appeal to Meitei armed groups to desist from planting these victim-activated landmines and disband their bases on Kuki lands.

With regard to landmines, KNO have never resorted to utilizing them because it is against our culture to use such indiscriminate weapons. Besides, having been victims of these weapons, we are aware of the human and economic disaster they represent for civil population and we wish to express our support to the international campaign to ban such mines and to Geneva Call's action.

KNO is grateful for the opportunity to be signatory to the Deed of Commitment to ban landmines. The organisation will endeavour to actively implement measures to create a landmine free world.

Thank you!

Report on the Deed of Commitment to ban landmines signed on 9 August 2006 at Geneva, Switzerland

By PS Haokip, president Kuki National Organisation

By God's grace the Kuki National Organisation was invited by Geneva Call to sign a Deed of Commitment to ban landmines on 9 August 2006 at Geneva, Switzerland. The event took place at the Geneva Town Hall, seat of the Republic of Geneva State Government, in the historic Alabama Room, where the Arbitration Treaty of 1872 was signed. Mr Dominique Louis, Deputy Head of Protocol of the Republic and Canton of Geneva, who chaired the event, Ms Elisabeth Reusse-Decrey, President of Geneva Call and I were signatories of the Deed of Commitment. The statement I made is included at the end of this report, it is also available on www.kukiforum.com

I am pleased to say that the predicament of the Kuki people has finally reached the ears of Geneva Call which will help to rehabilitate innocent village folks who are victims of landmines. The landmines have been planted in our lands by the Manipur People's Army, a conglomeration of Meitei militant groups

The invitation list for the occasion of signing the Deed of Commitment comprised members of Swiss-Burma Association, David Arnott, Burma Peace Foundation, ICRC UNHCHR Desk Officer, UNHCR, Desk Officer for Asia Pacific, Gustavo Laurie UN Mine Action Service, Geneva International Centre for Humanitarian De-mining, Swiss Campaign to Ban Landmines, Swiss Foundation for the Aid of Mine Victims, Swiss Foundation for Mine Clearance, International Campaign to Ban Landmines, Australian Mission, New Zealand Mission, Swiss Government, Canton of Geneva, Geneva Call Board Members, Armin Koehli, Mr Julian Burger, UNWGIP, Mission of India and Mission of

Burma. From the Kuki side, I am glad to say that Dr Seilen Haokip secretary of Kuki Indigenous People, participated at the event Dr Haokip was already in Geneva on account of the 24th session of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations, which met from 31 July to 4 August. His representation at the UNWGIP was on the main theme of the Working Group Agenda item 4 (b), 2 August 2006 'Utilization of indigenous peoples lands by non-indigenous authorities, groups or individuals for military purposes'. The statement can be found at www.kukiforum.com and www.pro-kukinetwork.com

I would also like to mention that it is of immense significance that KIP has been highlighting Kuki issues at the international level. Constructive criticism and words of encouragement, I am sure, would be appreciated by the organization.

On 6 August 2006, I arrived at Geneva. Katherine Kramer of Geneva Call, who is Director of South East Asia, received me at the airport and reached me to my hotel, The Drake Longchamp. It was also fortunate that at this time Rev Tongkhoyam Haokip and his family from London were on holiday in Geneva. We enjoyed meals cooked by Tinnu, the Reverend's wife on several evenings.

Following the signing ceremony, I had the privilege of presenting our traditional shawl, one each to Mr Dominique Louis and Ms Elisabeth Reusse-Decrey. It was a chilly morning in Geneva and both Mr Dominique Louis and Ms Elisabeth Reusse-Decrey donned their shawl to the applause of those present in the Alabama Room. It is worth recalling here the heartfelt words of Mr Dominique Louis. 'That the British colonialists divided Kuki territory, Zale'n gam, between India and Burma is a great shame. That KNO, today, has to struggle for Kuki statehood in India and Burma is also unfortunate. I am also touched by the fact that you, Mr President, have presented me with your traditional shawl. I have been signatory to thirty-one Deed of Commitment to ban

landmines from around the world, and this gesture is the first of its kind.'

Amazed by Mr Dominique Louis' expression of emotion to me and to Ms Elisabeth Reusse-Decrey as well, I made sure that Fanja Rasolomanana of Swiss Foundation for the landmine Victims Aid and Dr Haokip also heard the exact words. It is deeply encouraging that someone not belonging to our community should hear such sentiments towards our people. In appreciation, I presented a signed copy of Zale'n-gam: The Kuki Nation to Mr Dominique Louis. Of the other two copies of the book I brought with me, one was presented to Katherine Kramer for the library of Geneva Call and another to Pu Tawnna, a scholar from Burma, currently working on his doctoral thesis in Switzerland on the ethnic music of our people.

At the reception held in an adjacent room to the Alabama Room during which exquisite fruit juices and Genevan red and white wine was served along with a variety of delectable Swiss cheeses and other scrumptious nibbles, I took the opportunity to distribute copies of The Kuki People of Zale'n-gam and Kuki National Organisation (KNO publication). The reception also served as an opportunity to meet the various participants on a one to one basis and discuss matters concerning the Kukis. Particular mention may be made of meeting with representatives from UNHCR, Swiss-Burma Association and Geneva International Centre for Humanitarian De-mining.

Prior to departing from Geneva on 12 August, several memorandums were submitted to

a) the Mission of India for the Prime Minister of India,

b) the Mission of Burma for Senior General Than Shwe of Burma,

c) the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, and

d) the UNHCR.

Geneva Call compiled several accounts of the Kuki people from various websites for their press statement on the Deed of Commitment signed with KNO. Perhaps not too surprisingly, the accounts written by British officials and the NSCN-IM propaganda were not all complimentary. However, Geneva Call responded reasonably to the discrepancies revealed and so featured in their statement an accurate picture of the Kuki people.

On 12 August, Dr Haokip and I left Geneva: he via Vienna for Delhi, and I, via Zurich to my sanctuary.

THE STATE OF THE KUKI PEOPLE IN POST-INDEPENDENT INDIA AND BURMA

By PS Haokip

The Kuki people

The Kukis are an ethnic people comprising numerous clans. These clans share a common past, culture, customs and tradition. They speak in dialects that have a common root language belonging to the Tibeto-Burman group. Kuki country was subjugated by the British and divided between British India and British Burma administrations following the 'Kuki Rising of 1917-1919'. Up until the fateful defeat in 1919, the Kukis were an independent people ruled by their chieftains. During WWII seizing the opportunity to regain independence, Kukis fought along with the Imperial Japanese Army and the Indian National Army led by Subhas Chandra Bose. The success of the Allied forces over the Axis group dashed the aspiration of the Kuki people. Today, the Kukis are dispersed in Northeast India, Northwest Burma, and the Chittagong Hill tracts in Bangladesh. In India, the Kukis are in the states of Manipur, Assam, Nagaland, Meghalaya and Tripura, in the state of Mizoram, formerly the Lushai Hills, they are known as 'Mizo'. In Burma, they are mainly in the Sagaing Division, and in Bangladesh, along the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

With regard to Kuki identity, Prof JN Phukan writes, if we were to accept Ptolemy's 'Tiladae' as the 'Kuki' people as identified by Gerini, the settlement of the Kuki in North-East India would go back to a very long time in the past. Prof Gangumei Kabui states, 'some Kuki tribes migrated to Manipur hills in the pre-historic times along with or after the Meitei advent in the Manipur valley.' This hypothesis will take us to the theory that the Kukis, for that matter, the Mizos, at least some of their tribes, had been living in North-East India since the prehistoric time, and therefore, their early home must be sought in the hills of Manipur and the

nearby areas rather than in Central China or the Yang-tze valley

In the second century (AD 90 – 168), Claudius Ptolemy, the geographer, identified the Kukis with Triadai, who are associated with Trilabharas and places them 'to the north of Maiandros, that is about the Garo Hills and Silhet.' Stevenson's reference to Kuki in relation to Ptolemy's The Geography also bears critical significance to its existence in this period. The Rajmala or Annals of Tripura, refers to Shiva falling in love with a Kuki woman around AD 1512. The Encyclopaedia Britannica records, 'Kuki, a name given to a group of tribes inhabiting both sides of the mountains dividing Assam and Bengal from Burma, south of the Namtaleik river.' Concerning the origins of Kuki, in 1893, EB Elly, a British official, wrote, the terminology 'Kuki', meaning 'hill people' originated at Sylhet, in former East Bengal.

Historians such as Majumdar and Bhattasali refer to the Kukis as the earliest people known to have lived in prehistory India, preceding 'the "Dravidians" who now live in South India.' The Aryans, who drove the Dravidians towards the south, arrived in the Indian sub-continent around BC 1500. In the Pooyas, the traditional literature of the Meitei people of Manipur, 'two Kuki Chiefs named Kuki Ahongba and Kuki Achouba were allies to Nongba Lairen Pakhangba, the first historically recorded king of the Meithis [Meiteis]' in the latter's mobilisation for the throne in 33 AD.' Cheitharol Kumaba (Royal Chronicles of the Meitei Kings) records that in the year 186 Sakabda (AD 264) Meidungu Taothingmang, a Kuki, became king.

The state of Kukis in post-independent India

In post-independent India, trusting safety and security of their land would be guaranteed the Kuki people abandoned the path of armed movement as against the British. The Kuki Chiefs' Association, which was formed in the 1930s officially, became the Kuki National Assembly on 24 October 1946. The late Zavum

Mhalo was its first President, and late Thangkhopao Kipgen, its secretary, who was Special Officer during the time of FF Pearson, President of the Manipur State Durbar. In 1952 the Kuki National Assembly declared its position against the merger of Manipur state with Assam, opting for separate Kuki statehood. However, that hope was soon belied when the Government turned a blind eye to KNA's petition. Rather than oblige Kukis who were opposed to the British and who fought along with the Indian National Army, the Government rewarded other communities in the region who were pro-colonialists. This lack of insight and wisdom in not responding to Kukis' demand for statehood has left the people completely vulnerable. As a result, the Government of India failed to protect the rights and lands of the Kukis against the onslaught of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Isak & Muivah). This failure of the Government and apathy was reinforced by categorically sidelining the Kukis and instead engaging in political dialogue with NSCN (IM) to solve the problems of the 'Nagas' but not the Kukis'. This situation has been aggravated by the inability of the Government to oust Meitei militants such as United National Liberation Front, from Kuki territory where they plant landmines and kill and rape Kukis at whim. In Churachandpur District, UNLF raped 25 Hmar Kuki women and also killed Pu Thangtuam, a senior Indian Police Service officer because he is Kuki. The intention of both NSCN (IM) and UNLF is to forcibly snatch Kuki lands to include within a) Nagalim and b) Kangleipak, the designs respectively of the two aggressors. Given the critical circumstances, the Kuki National Organisation has established its own course of action, which is articulated in Zale'n-gam, the Kuki nation and Manifesto, the objective is to secure our ancestral territory by way of statehood, one within the India Union and another in Burma.

Kuki people's predicament in Burma

Kuki ancestral land in Burma begins from the river Chindwin.

stretching to the west bordering India, in the north, up to the river Nantalit and its surrounding regions, and to the south, the region up to the northern border of Chin State. Following Burma's independence from Britain in 1948, the Kukis were reconciled to being an integral part of the country. However, general neglect of the people by the Government prompted Kuki National Organisation's armed cadre, Kuki National Army to carry out offensives against the Burmese army. These activities have now ceased completely in view of KNO's decision to pursue through peaceful means a solution to the Kuki problem in Burma. In this connection, some of the grievances faced by the Kuki people are being highlighted for the appraisal of the distinguished personalities present on this occasion of remembering 1857 and gauging the benefits of independence from Britain.

• In 1967, under U. Muang Maung's "Khadwami Operation" the Government of Revolutionary Council headed by General Newin, displaced 20,000 Kukis in the Kabow valley under the excuse that they were holding bogus "National Registration and family registration cards".

• From 1980s there have been deliberate attempts at displacing the Kukis and populating the Kabow valley with other ethnic Burmese tribes. The settlements of Ongchija, Tanan, Myothit, Savashan, Bandulah, Nanaungow, Mantong and Ywatha, which were deliberately set up by the Military Government in the Kabow Valley are existing examples of discrimination against the Kukis. We do not have objection to live with them peacefully but only as long as there is an equitable approach at the Government policy levels. Till now the Military Government has given us a step-motherly treatment.

• Since 1990 the SLORC Government have been extracting forced-labor from the Kukis in the Kabow Valley. The Army has dispossessed many Kuki villages of their lands. A glaring example of this is at Watsu in 1992 under the direct supervision of the General Secretary II Gen Tin O.

• In the beginning of 1993 Nungkam, a Kuki village was burnt and bulldozed and in its place a new military settlement, Say, San Ywa, was set up. The ostensible reason for this was that the Kukis refuse to convert to Buddhism. The village Church was burnt down. There are many other instances, which are glaring examples of SLORC's discrimination against the Kukis in Burma (Myanmar).

• The student community Kuki Students Democratic Front, Burma (KSDF) has submitted a representation highlighting Human Rights violation by SLORC against ethnic Nationalities (1993-94) in Burma (Myanmar). Apart from mentioning forced labour and forceful occupation of village lands by the warriors they highlighted one incident at Phailen, a Kuki village in the Kabow Valley. It appears that one soldier from the 89 battalion of Burmese warriors deserted his camp based in Phailen village with a few rifles and ammunition. Subsequently, a Burmese platoon stormed into the village, killed four people and arrested twelve others (all are consisting of Kuki religious leaders of Phailen Baptist Church). A ransom of 200,000 Kyats was demanded for their release. U. Mangpu (45), Chairman of village, Law and Order Restoration Council, Rev. Yangkholet (48), the Pastor of Phailen Baptist Church, U. Thangkhai (28) and U. Haopu (28) were brutally tortured to death, during the first week of August 1993. U. Maungpu's house was demolished and his cows and domestic pets were used as ration for the platoon. His wife has been imprisoned in Monywa jail since then. This news was broadcast by BBC Burmese section on 11.08.93.

• Currently, the governments of India and Burma are involved in the building of the Tamanthi Dam. This dam is being constructed on Kuki ancestral lands without the consent of the people. Till date, over 35 Kuki villages have been evicted and no compensation has been paid for their land. Compensation may be paid, the government says, provided the village people shift to the east bank of the river Chindwin, which is not the land of the Kuki.

people.

• The SPDC had sold a stretch of Kuki land between Tenjang village and Tungkyaw village to the Palaung people. However, when I personally enquired from the Palaung people whether the Kuki land was bought by them, they said it was not true. This is strange because when two Kuki men went and cut two timbers on their own land, the SPDC soldiers slapped a fine of 2,00000 - Kyats. The SPDC soldiers told the Kuki men that they were being fined for cutting wood growing on land already sold to the Palaung people. I cannot help but think that the SPDC might have sold the Kuki land to the United National Liberation Front, a Meitei insurgent group from Manipur in India, who are being sheltered by the SPDC. The UNLF have been planting landmines in Kuki areas in Cahndel District and Churachandpur District of Manipur. Till date 33 plus 25 innocent village have been killed by the landmines, respectively in the two Districts. The issue of the Tamanthi Dam and the controversies related to its illegal and forcible construction on Kuki ancestral lands has been highlighted on the Website of Kuki Students Democratic Front, Burma www.ksdf.org

All these incidents of harassment, torture and discrimination by the Military Government have been a matter of deep concern for us. We are surprised and shocked, mainly because we have never raised the banner of rebellion against independent Burma like the other ethnic groups, such as the Chins, the Kachins, Karens, etc. Even then we Kukis have been continuously treated as anti-nationals. The only reason for this seems to be that we are not Buddhists but Christians in general. In this regard Myanmar has at no time declared itself as a theocratic Buddhist State. Buddhism, as we know it, is a non-violent all-encompassing religion and in this context, the actions of the military regime are paradoxical. According to our understanding, Myanmar is supposed to be a democratic and peace-loving country where all ethnic groups may live in harmony, professing any religion of their choice.

KNO would like to draw your attention to the following issues concerning the Kuki people in Burma:

i) Safeguarding the territorial integrity of Kuki lands and preservation of their identity by the Government of Burma is imperative. To the Kuki people this issue is more important than the political status of Burma, i.e. military state or democracy.

ii) Kukis want to be fully integrated within the Union of Burma. To achieve this objective, KNO wants the Government to accord statehood to Kuki ancestral lands.

iii) The proposal for Kuki statehood includes their ancestral lands starting from the river Chindwin towards the west bordering India, in the north, up to the river Nantalit and its surrounding regions, and to the south, the region stretching to the northern border of Chin State.

iv) Statehood would allay the fear that the Government might plan to inhabit ethnic Burmese transplanted from other regions of Burma and settle them on Kuki lands with a view to rendering them a minority in their own territory. For example, in 2004 as well, a new Burmese village, Yan Nyang Aung was established between Lallim and Panda Kuki villages.

v) Prevent Meitei militants from Manipur in India to use Kuki lands in Burma to carry out activities against the Kuki people as well as the Indian army across the international border. For example, in a recent Manipur People's Army (conglomeration of Meitei militant groups) attack on the Assam Rifles out-post at a Kuki village, Chavangphai, Ward 7 Moreh, near the Indo-Burma border, four local civilians, including two women suffered severe injuries (20 July 2006, Imphal Free Press). A 60mm bomb, injuring two people also hit a house at S Moljol, an adjacent village. The BBC http : www bbc co uk burmese also reported that on the Burmese side of the border, two Kuki villages, Valpabung and Namphalong were affected when Assam Rifles retaliated. The injured village folks were refused immediate medical attention

at the hospital at Tamu, a town in Kabow valley because the Burmese police reported the casualties were not caused by the crossfire that occurred the previous night.

The Kuki National Organisation believes that it would not be presumptuous to state that fulfilment of their aspirations would contribute to peace and stability of the nation. KNO, therefore, urge the Government to institute Kuki statehood at the earliest possible date. This initiative would inspire confidence among the Kukis and dispel notions that Government intends to exploit Kuki lands and its people and press a policy of Burmanisation. It would also be a positive deterrent to Kukis resorting to alternative measures as in the past to achieve their objectives.

Kuki's position vis-à-vis India's 1857 war of independence

2007 marks the sesquicentennial year of India's revolt against British rule in 1857. A pertinent question today is whether the people of India have benefited much after 60 years of independence from Britain. This question relates mainly to economics and development matters, political freedom (apart from misrule by our own national leaders) and territorial integrity are no longer issues. For the Kuki people, however, their issues remain primarily political freedom and territorial integrity, precisely what they fought for during British rule. Being citizens of India or Burma has had no impact to improve their lot. When the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Isak & Muivah) carried out the Kuki genocide from 1992-1997, over 900 souls perished, 350 villages were uprooted and more than 50, 000 were rendered refugees in their own lands. These facts reveal the stark reality of the Government of India and the army not being in a position to provide adequate protection to the Kukis. Following this demonstration of severe inability, to rub salt into Kuki wounds, GOI proceeded to sign a peace accord with NSCN (IM) and engage in political dialogue to solve the 'Naga' problem while refusing

to engage in a similar dialogue with Kuki National Organisation, which is the only Kuki armed organisation with ten different armed groups in its fold. This shows that GOI considers NSCN (IM) more important despite declaring the organisation a 'terrorist group' and knowing fully well that it is Kuki territory not Meitei people's in the state of Manipur, which is at risk with the demand of 'Nagalim'.

More recently, the United National Liberation Front, a Meitei armed organisation in Manipur have been planting landmines in Kuki territory causing the death of 33 people in Chandel District and 25 more in Churachandpur District of Manipur. Again the army has proven ineffective to oust the UNLF cadres from the Kuki hills. Besides these landmines casualty, UNLF have also killed innocent Kukis at Moreh and other parts of Chandel District. The plan of UNLF is to grab Kuki territory in the name of Manipur's or Kangleipak's struggle for independence from India.

Well, this is the pathetic condition of the Kuki people in India despite their historic opposition to British colonialism and history of association with the Indian National Army. Instead of integrating Kukis fully with the country, it is NSCN (IM) perpetrators of genocide that GOI seeks to please. And, rather than prevail upon the state government of Manipur not to hinder GOI and KNO talks, it permits them to lay down unacceptable conditions for talks to take place within Manipur. This however further vindicates that the condition of the Kukis in Manipur, where the dominant Meitei population use muscle tactics (underground forces as well as the state government), is extremely precarious. The question now is what have the Kukis gained in the independent nation-states of India and Burma?

Kuki defence against British colonialism

Kuki opposition to the British and interference in their territory began in 1777, during the time of Warren Hastings, Governor

General of India, culminated in 1919. For the sake of reference, 'The year 1860 saw the great Kuki invasion of Tipperah [Tripura], and the following year a large body of police marched to the hills to punish and avenge' 'In 1845, 1847-1848, 1849-1850, and 1850-1851 there were raids culminating in what is called the Great Kuki Invasion of 1860s' 'Early in 1860, reports were received, at Chittagong, of the assembling of a body of 400 or 500 Kookies at the head of the River Fenny, and soon the tale of burning villages and slaughtered men gave token of the work they had on hand. On the 31st January, before any intimation of their purpose could reach us, the Kookies, after sweeping down the course of the Fenny, burst into the plains of Tipperah at Chagulneyah, burnt or plundered 15 villages, butchered 185 British subjects, and carried off about 100 captives.'

Assam was brought under British rule after the Anglo-Burmese War in 1826. Thereafter, the British set out to extend their rule throughout the Northeast. Some of the major expeditions carried out in this region by the Assam Rifles and the Assam Military Police include the 'Kuki operations of 1880-1882 and 1917-1919'. The events of 1917-1919, recorded as 'Kuki rising' during WW I was momentous. This event is also referred to as 'Anglo-Kuki War, 1917-1919'. Shakespeare, Palit and the recently released book The Assam Rifles term it as 'Kuki Rebellion, 1917-1919'. Sir Robert Reid, Governor of Assam, noted it as the most serious event in the history of Manipur. It is worth noting that in recorded history, Kukis alone stood against the imperial power for nearly three years, no other peoples, particularly in the Northeast, have the reputation of such sustained opposition to the British.

Kukis also featured in WWII. This time round, Kukis fought alongside the Imperial Japanese Army and the Indian National Army. The victory of the Allied forces over the Axis group shattered the Kuki people's dream of regaining independence that was earlier lost to the British. In post-independent India, Kuki

opposition to Manipur's merger with the Indian Union can be thought because of extreme pressure from Meitei people upon their Maharajah. As a result in 1949, the Meitei Maharajah signed the merger agreement with India, and both Meitei lands in the valley and Kuki hills, which were both under British administration became a part of the Indian Union. Please note the term Manipur applied to include Kuki lands did not come to being until the arrival of the British. It is misrepresentative to refer to present-day Manipur as an ancient entity. The land of the Kuki people, comprising predominantly the hills of Manipur, extending to vast ranges of hills in present-day Western Burma in Sagaing Division was always ruled by Kuki chieftains with no external interference until the arrival of the British in the eighteenth-century. "'Manipur' is not used at all until the British period.' Meitei people's land, which consists of the valley only from time immemorial as 'Kangleipak' and Meeteileipak (pak bak for land). Even in the mid-nineteenth century the inhabitants did not use Manipur to designate the country. A letter written in the Meetei script to the Viceroy of India in May 1868 by Maharajah Chandra Kirti of Manipur is dated "1790 (Sakabda) Mahe 11 Kaien. 'Mahe' is here the name of the country. Pemberton writing in 1835 noted the country was variously called Kathe, Mogle, Meklee or Cassay.'

In reference to the identity Kuki and their territorial domain Grierson delineates Kuki country as follows:

The territory inhabited by the Kuki tribes extends from the Naga Hills in the north down into the Sandoway District of Burma in the south; from Myittha river in the east, almost to the Bay of Bengal in the west. It is almost entirely filled up by hills and mountain ridges, separated by deep valleys.

A great chain of mountains suddenly rises from the plains of Eastern Bengal, about 220 miles north of Calcutta, and stretches eastward in a broadening mass of spurs and ridges, called successively the Garo, Khasia, and Naga Hills. The elevation of

the highest point increases towards the east, from about 3,000 feet in the Garo Hills to 8,000 and 9,000 in the region of Manipur.

This chain merges, in the east, into the spurs, which the Himalayas shoot out from the north of Assam towards the south. From here a great mass of mountain ridges starts southwards, enclosing the alluvial valley of Manipur, and thence spreads out westwards to the south of Sylhet. It then runs almost due north and south, with cross-ridges of smaller elevation, through the districts known as the Chin Hills, the Lushai Hills, Hill Tipperah, and the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Farther south the mountainous region continues, through the Arakan Hill tracts, and the Arakan Yoma, until it finally sinks into the sea at Cape Negrais, the total length of the range being some seven hundred miles.

The greatest elevation is found to the north of Manipur. Thence it gradually diminishes towards the south. Where the ridge enters the north of Arakan it again rises, with summit upwards of 8,000 feet high, and here a mass of spurs is thrown off in all directions. Towards the south the western off-shoots diminish in length, leaving a track of alluvial land between them and the sea, while in the north the eastern off-shoots of the Arakan Yoma run down to the banks of the Irawaddy.

This vast mountainous region, from the Jaintia and Naga Hills in the north, is the home of the Kuki tribes. We find them, besides, in the valley of Manipur, and, in small settlements, in the Cachar Plains and Sylhet.

Kuki Nationalism

A spirit of sovereignty marks the history of the Kuki people. 'Zale'n-gam' is an ideological concept propounded by PS Haokip, President of the Kuki National Organisation. 'Zale'n-gam' means 'freedom of the people in their land', it encapsulates and expounds the essence of Kuki's recent history and nationalism. Smith defines

nationalism' as, 'an ideological movement for the attainment and maintenance of autonomy, unity and identity of a human population. He considers the 'nation', 'a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and memories, a mass public culture, a single economy and common rights and duties for all members.' All of these attributes are integral to the Kuki nation. Kuki polity based on its traditional institution of Chieftainship provided the foundation for identity and nationalism to thrive.

The traditional form of Kuki governance, represented by Haosas (chiefs), was made up of a two-tiered system: a) Upa Innpi or Bulpite Vaipohna (Upper House), and b) Haosa Innpi or Kho Haosa Vaipohna (Lower House). The Upper House comprised of chiefs, who were also the eldest of a sub-clan. The chiefs from different villages represented the Lower House. The institution of Chieftainship also embodied Kuki culture, customs and traditions. Semang and Pachong (council of ministers and auxiliary members) aided the chief in the day-to-day administration. Cha'nglot (Assistant), Lhangsam (Town crier), Thiempu (High Priest and Judge), Lawm Upa (Minister of Youth & Cultural Affairs), Thihpu (Village Smith) comprised the essential elements of Kuki community. A proper form of governance, an intact identity, and a fervent spirit of nationalism formed the backbone to resist colonialism. All of these characteristics, and particularly the spirit of Kuki nationalism, were echoed in the tenacious opposition to the British imperialists throughout the nineteenth-century, and particularly in 1917-1919.

The Kuki rising of 1917-1919 epitomises Kuki nationalism. It is a reminder of the spirit of nationalism exercised by our forefathers. This fact is recounted in Zale'n-gam: The Kuki Nation. In present day context, Kuki country covered by the event ranges broadly from the upper Chindwin, Burma, in the West, the hills in Manipur; and Aisan, Nagaland, in the East. The leaders were Chengjapao Doungel, King of Kuki, Pache Haokip, Chief of

Chassad and all Haokips, Tintong Haokip, Commander-in-Chief of Kuki Army; Enjakhup Kholhou, Dy Chief-in-Command of Kuki Army, Khotinthang Sitlhou alias Kilkhong, Cief of Jampi and Nohjang Kipgen Chief of Saisem

The magnitude of the national movement of 1917-1919 is evident in the words of Lt Col RS Chhetri: to handle the 'Kuki Rebellion' 'An Assam Rifles Brigade under Col LW Shakespear, the newly appointed Deputy Inspector General, set out with a strength of 2,600 men assisted by a contingent of Burma Military Police numbering 400.' 'A Minute Paper refers to '23 principals involved, 13 in Manipur under Assam, 10 in the Somra Tract under Burma.' Military columns commandeered by British officers Coote, Hebbert, Higgins and Cloete, 'criss-crossed the area and fought a number of actions to successfully suppress the Kuki rebellion. In the process, they won 1 CIE, 1 OBE, 14 IDSMs, 1 King's Police Medal, innumerable Mentions-in-Despatches and Jangi Inams.' With regard to Kuki, the British Advisory Committee passed recommendations to subject the prominent leaders (those mentioned above and others) to a 'period of restraint', each for fifteen years, with the exception of the Commander-in-Chief Tintong Haokip of Lanjang, who received a penalty of twenty years.

The national character of the events of 1917-1919 is clearly indicated in Webster's report.

Soon after the actual recruiting began, however, some of the Kuki chiefs in the outlying hills adopted an obstructive attitude. It was reported that the chief of Aishan, Chengjapao, who is "Piba" [Pipa] or head of all the Thado Kukis, had sent orders to all the leading Thado chiefs to resist recruiting with force if necessary. Other influential chiefs were reported to have taken similar steps.

Extensive preparations had undergone prior to launching offensives against the British. Knowledge of manufacturing flintlocks enabled Kuki to stock them in thousands, for use in

any eventuality. From 1907-1917, the British collected from the Kukis 1,195 guns. Palit observes: 'Mention has been made earlier that the Kukis had been encouraged by emissaries from Bengali nationalists in Assam, but any thought that the Germans had also had a hand in it had not occurred to any one.' This matter came to light at Tamu in May 1918, whereupon a 'Medical Officer on his round of inspection came upon some Sikhs of the Burma M P in a hut tearing up some papers they said they did not want. The M O picked up some of the papers and found among them photos of two Germans, one in uniform. On the back of one of them was written in Hindustani: "If you fall into rebel hands show these and they will not harm you."'

In the first week of March 1917, Chengjapao Chief of Aisan held a gathering of various chiefs to chalk out details concerning the impending war. According to Kuki custom, a buffalo was slaughtered on the occasion, and Shajam Iha was performed. Shajam Iha is an auspicious part of the war tradition: the flesh of the animal is distributed among the chiefs as a mark of solidarity; the heart and liver is shared, symbolising commitment to the cause. The same tradition was observed at the Chassad conclave as well as at Jampi, Henglep, Mombi (Lonpi), Jouang, Phaileng (present-day upper Chindwin), Halflong (present-day Assam) and Mechangbung (present-day Nagaland). As a declaration of war, thingkho le malchapom (king-sized red chillies strapped onto smouldering firewood) was passed, for example, from Aisan to the adjoining villages. This tradition was observed in different parts of Zale'n-gam, thereby linking all of Kuki country to rise against the invaders. These solemn proceedings indicate the nature of the 'Kuki rising of 1917-1919'; it was a concerted national movement against aggressing colonialists.

Official British perspectives suggest otherwise. On 27 June 1919, Webster wrote to the Secretary, Government of India, 'the province of Assam was asked to furnish a quota of "labourers" for employment with the Army in France'. The implication here is

that the Labour Corps drive was the cause of the Kuki rising. Various scholars, including some journalists, have propagated this view to downplay the actual significance of the event. From Kuki point of view, the event was a culmination of the ongoing act of self-determination, triggered by the Labour Corps drive. It is a preposterous notion that the cause of such a movement against the imperialists, sustained for nearly three years, could be merely because the Kuki people wanted to resist working as labourers. The enormity of the event is self-evident in the official letter of the Chief Commissioner of Assam:

> The 'Kuki rising, 1917-1919', which is the most formidable with which Assam has been faced for at least a generation . . . the rebel villages held nearly 40,000 men, women and children interspersed over some 6,000 square miles of rugged hills surrounding the Manipur valley and extending to the Somra Tract and the Thaungdut State in Burma.

A confidential despatch of Sir HDU Kerry, General Officer Commanding, Burma Division shows how the British reacted to the Chief of Aisan's call. 'I therefore decided to put an end to the Kuki revolt by force of arms, break the Kuki spirit, disarm the Kukis, exact reparation and pave the way for an effective administration of their country.'

A retrospective view shows that 'Kuki rising, 1917-1919' is a paradoxical event. On the one hand, its subjugation, in a manner resonant of Sir Kerry's avowal, was a turning point in Kuki history. It broke the spirit of the people and set in decline Kuki as a nation, the effects of which still linger. The main Kuki chiefs were arrested and put in different jails in Assam, Burma and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the Bay of Bengal (see Appendix for the lists of Chiefs arrested). On the other hand, it is a historical landmark of Zale'n-gam. It demonstrates Kuki's relationship to their land, and is a veritable reminder of their legitimate status as a nation. The Government also adopted administrative measures to keep the Kuki people suppressed. Kuki areas were brought under civil

authority. The first Sub-Divisional Offices were opened at Tamenglong, Ukhrul and Churachandpur, which are now full districts in Manipur. In Gangte's words these new administrative posts successfully achieved two planned objectives viz 'containment' of Kuki activities to prevent another rising and to ensure Naga domination especially in Ukhrul and Tamenglong sub-divisions.

Given this backdrop of Kuki history and its present predicament, it would be in the interest of not only the Kuki people, but also the Indian nation, to establish a stable political state for the Kukis where neither the NSCN (IM)-led Nagas of Manipur nor the UNLF-led Meiteis of Manipur may be able to interfere. It is therefore important that through GOI and KNO dialogue Kuki political aspirations are fructified at the earliest possible date. In this regard, all conscientious individuals, especially those eminent personalities present on this august occasion of marking the sesquicentennial year of India's first war of independence, are urged to take up the issues concerning the Kuki people and their political aspirations.

Thank you,

PS Haokip

President, Kuki National Organisation

Zale'n-gam

MANMASI

APPENDIX 1..

Warrants dated 8 December 1919, Delhi, signed by RE Holland Secretary of the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department, were issued to arrest Kuki Chiefs. They were to be restrained at Sadiya Jail in Assam.

1. Chengjapao [Doungel], Chief of Aishan

2. Khotinthang (or Khilkung) [Sitlhou], Chief of Jampi,

3 Pachei alias Hlukhomang [Lhukhomang Haokip], Chief of Chassad

4. Pakang [Haokip], Chief of Hinglep [Henglep]

5. Tintong [Haokip], Chief of Laiyong [Laijang]

6. Ngulkhup [Haokip], Chief of Mombi [Lonpi]

7. Leothang [Haokip], Chief of Goboh

8. Heljashon [Haokip], Chief of Loibol

9. Mangkhoon [Manglun Haokip], Chief of Tingkai

10. Semchung [Haokip], Chief of Ukha*

11. Ngulkhokai Haokip of Chassad**

12. Enjakhup [Kholhou] of Thenjol***

PROPOSALS FOR THE PUNISHMENT OF THE TEN KUKI CHIEFS IN THE SOMRATRACT & KALE KABOW VALLEY [BURMA] WHO WERE CONCERNED IN THE REBELLION

1. Kamjadem [Kamjahen Haokip, Chief of Phailenjang I]

2 Tongkwalun [Tongkholun Haokip, Chief of Phailenjang II]

3. Letkwatang [Letkhothang, Chief of Khotuh]

4. Semkwalun [Semkholun Haokip, Chief of Phaisat]

5. Zahlun [Jalhun Haokip, Chief of Molvom]

6. Shuku [Tukih Lupheng, Chief of Tonglhang]

7. Vumnul [Vumngul Kipgen, Chief of Tujang]

8. Haokwapao [Holkhopao Kipgen, Chief of Molvailop]

9. Notzang [Nohjang Kipgen Chief of Saisem]

10. Ngulkolun [Ngulkholun]

The President's Felicitations To KNO's Armed Wing

Psalm 133:1: Behold, how good and pleasant it is when brothers dwell in unity!

As president of Kuki National Organisation, I am pleased to extend heartfelt felicitations to Kuki National Front (Military Council), Kuki National Front (Zogam), United Socialist Revolutionary Army (Vaiphei and Simte), Zomi Revolutionary Front (Paite), United Komrem Revolutionary Army (Aimol, Chiru, Kom Purum, Koireng Kolhen and Kharam), Zou Defence Volunteer and Hmar National Army for taking an unprecedented step to come together as one people of Zale'n-gam, particularly in order that we may achieve our desired political objectives.

The unity of our people under KNO engendered by and expressed through the ideology of Zale'n-gam is the first of its kind in the last fifty-plus years. The disunity prevalent in those years has taken a severe toll, socially and politically. However, by our joint efforts we are in the process of reversing that state of affairs. By God's grace and by virtue of the principles inherent in Zale'n-gam, today, those of us who espouse the ideology are in the process of making history.

The road ahead of us may be laden with many challenges, but together as a people of common origin and with a common past, shared culture, customs and traditions, we will overcome those challenges.

Our forefathers opposed British colonialism right from the outset and performed commendable feats. As Chakravorty noted in British Relations with the Hill Tribes Bordering on Assam since 1858, the first of these feats took place in 1777, during the time of Warren Hastings, Governor General of India. Other notable events, as shown by Elly, a British official, in Military Report on

the Chin-Lushai Country, occurred in 1845, 1847-1848, 1849-1850, and 1850-1851, followed by the Great Kuki Invasion of 1860s. These historic events, which are heroic acts of self-defence were termed 'raids' by the British, who came to invade our lands.

In the twentieth-century, Kukis featured in both the World War theatres. WWI marked the 'Kuki rising, 1917-1919', available at the Oriental and India Office Collections of the British library in London, which was a momentous offensive, and in practical terms a culmination of opposition against the British colonial sts. Up till this stage, while India and Burma was already taken over by the British, including Chin Hills and Manipur in the year 1860 and 1891 respectively, the Kukis remained independent, ruled by their noble chiefs. It was only after the events of the last 'Kuki rising' that, for the first time in history, our territory Zale'n-gam, was divided and brought under the administrations of British Ind a and British Burma. The details of the event, also referred to as 'Kuki Rebellion 1917-1919,' are featured in History of the Assam Rifles, by Col W Shakespeare (1929) and in Sentinels of the North East by Maj General DK Palit. During WW II, resistance against the British continued. That time round, our forefathers fought along with the Japanese of the Axis forces and the Indian National Army.

We must bear in mind that our forebears never ceased to fight in order to preserve the integrity of our ancestral lands, which were never a part of India or Burma. Based on this historical reality in this modern day if our lands are to be included within sovereign nation-states, it is only proper that they be accorded statehood statuses. In this instance, this means statehood, one in Ind a and another in Burma. This is KNO's objectives that we pursue together.

As outlined in the statement of agreement jointly signed by us, when we have achieved our political goal of statehood in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of India,

districts and sub-divisions as appropriate will be duly accorded to the constituent members of Zale'n-gam.

Let us pray that God will bless the initiatives we undertake on behalf of our people. Our sincere efforts will ensure two stable and long-lasting outcomes:

a) the present generation is spared further agonies borne of the recent past's turmoil, and

b) generations to come will experience a future blessed with peace, harmony and development.

With best wishes,

PS Haokip

President, Kuki National Organisation

Zale'n-gam

MANMASI

KNO REBUKES UNLF'S DUPLICITOUS STATEMENT

Apropos to 'Teach KNA a lesson UNLF to Kukis' (Imphal Free Sangai Express, 10 June 2007), KNO would like to set the record straight for all concerned men and women with any degree of integrity, self-introspection and self respect irrespective of caste creed and ethnicity.

The unfortunate events of 9 June at Moreh in which 11 people died is a direct consequence of UNLF's intrusive presence in Kuki territory and their indiscriminate activities. The landmines planted by UNLF have so far killed 33 Kuki village folks in Chandel District and 25 in Churachandpur District. Besides, in January 2006, they indulged in mass-rape of Hmar women in Tipaimukh, prompting 1000-odd village people in the area to flee to Mizoram.

On March 23, 2007, a peaceful rally by students from Manipur hills at Parliament Street in New Delhi. The rally was organized to demand action from the central and Manipur government on the 'forcible abduction' of over 400 Kuki villagers in Chandel district to Burma on March 13. Till date 600 displaced Kuki village folks remain stranded at Moreh because their lands infested with the UNLF laid landmines have not been sanitised. In order to save face and prevent further damning publicity regarding the landmines issue, the UNLF tried to persuade the displaced people stranded at Moreh to return to their villages. Understandably, the vulnerable village people failed to be convinced and so preferred to remain at Moreh. The next step taken by UNLF was to send their armed cadres on 2 June, intending to coerce the people. The UNLF cadres were confronted by KNA cadres and following an encounter, the UNLF cadres, as usual, retreated to Burma, where they are provided safe haven by the Burmese military. On 3 June

KNA cadres at Variety Market spotted Yumnam Roshan Meitei of the rank of 2nd Lt of UNLF, who was involved in the previous day's encounter with KNA. The following day, in order to make clear that KNO is not communal and do not harbour any ill-will towards the Meitei public, a clarification was issued by T Stephen Kuki, Int & Publicity, KNO, that due action against Yumnam Roshan Meitei was taken not because he was a Meitei, but for his activities that incited communal tension ('KNO claims Moreh killing', Lamka, 4 June, The Sangai Express)

The ensuing step adopted by UNLF was to deploy five of their armed cadre to deal with the displaced people. On 9 June around 9.45 AM, the five UNLF cadres entered Moreh town through the porous border between Gate No 3 and Gate No 4. They were escorted to the respective gates by the Burmese Army and received by the Indian Reserved Battalion patrolling in the locality of Ward No 5. Within minutes of their entry, they randomly fired upon innocent Kuki labourers. The three dead persons at the spot were identified as Lunkholal (21), Lunkhomang (22) both from Chavangphai village, including a Pastor Hemkhojang (40) of S. Moljol village. At the same time, auto-driver Tongkholun (20) of Canan Veng was shot dead by the UNLF at Ward No 7, while Doukhomang (30) who went to the forest to make charcoal for a living was shot dead at Twidap Pang, about 2 km south of Moreh town. Soon after the killing spree, the IRB personnel guarded Ward No 7 to prevent attack on the Meitei locality by the Kukis. The attackers who freely escaped after the serial killings to Burma in the presence of the IRB were received by the Burmese army at Namphalong in Burma. The 24 Assam Rifles posted at Moreh were called up for help. However, they could not come out of their outpost to nab the culprits as they were compelled to be confined to their camps for the day by the concerned authorities.

The preceding sequential facts lays bare the proceedings and developments of the unfortunate events that unfolded at Moreh. If UNLF has the audacity to suggest that they are not communal after for example, the landmine deaths of the Kuki public they have caused, then they must be either completely deluded or lack the gumption to realise that they cannot succeed in pulling the wool over people's eyes, whether Kuki or Meitei. There are still honest and fair citizens at large free of prejudices and who possess a keen sense of truth and reality.

For the record, KNA has not engaged in attacking camps of UNLF cadres, while the latter have repeatedly attacked our camps at Molvailup, Molcham, Samtal (to name a few) and even snatched weapons at Molvailup. For information sake, the Kuki people do not subscribe to the ideology of what the UNLF call 'a revolutionary movement'. Presumably the stated movement refers to 'Kangleipak'. Kukis have their own movement called Zale'n-gam, which refers to protecting the integrity of their ancestral lands for which their forebears fought the British colonialists. To avoid further misunderstanding between the Kukis and Meiteis, it would be prudent for UNLF to confine their revolutionary activities, ideologically and physically to the valley called Manipur, which has been their abode from time immemorial. The Kuki Hills is Zale'n gam. Lastly let there be peaceful co existence between the Kukis and Meiteis by promoting mutual respect for each others territory and human rights of the two peoples.

Sd -

Stephen Kuki

Under Secretary, Information & Publicity

Kuki National Organisation

Zale'm-gam

MANMASI

ZG/PR 04-26/07 Manmasi Dated, 06 September 2007

KNO EXPRESSES DEEP CONCERN OVER 10 KLA CADRES KILLED BY NSCN (IM) IN COLD BLOOD

With regard to 'IM cadres mow down 10 KLA men' (The Sangai Express, 3 Sept 2007), the Kuki National Organisation urges the NSCN (IM) to state explicitly the reason for killing 10 Kuki Liberation Army cadres after departing from Tangkhul Hundung village, where they had spent two days hosted by NSCN (IM).

As the news reports, a mere tussle over pressurising an owner of a Jeep warranted shooting down the KLA cadres. This version has been categorically contradicted by the two KLA survivors. According to them, KLA had gone to Tangkhul Hundung village upon the invitation of Kuki Revolutionary Army. Their stay at Tangkhul Hundung village was arranged and organised by the KRA, which already has an established relationship with NSCN (IM). After two day's stay at the village, both KLA and NSCN (IM) cadres travelled on two vehicles. They were headed to Ukhrul to meet with the NSCN (IM) top brass in order to finalise and formalise KLA's links, similar to the status enjoyed by KRA and United Kuki Liberation Front. The KLA cadres were lodged in one vehicle, while the commanding officer of NSCN (IM) was seated with his cadres in the other. While stopping to fill fuel, the NSCN (IM) guards fired upon the KLA cadres seated inside the vehicle and killed 10 of them in cold blood.

The memories of over 900 Kukis (mainly children, women and the elderly) being slaughtered, over 359 villages uprooted and thousands rendered refugees from 1992-1997 has not dimmed. However, for the sake of the shared Christian faith by Kukis and Nagas, KNO wishes to look forward to a state of peaceful coexistence. The incident of 10 KLA cadres mowed down by NSCN (IM) in cold blood, however, adds salt to the wound earlier inflicted upon Kukis, even though aided and abetted by the KRA for their personal gain, which patently is favoured by NSCN (IM). It is also unfortunate that the United Peoples Front, which acknowledges that KLA is a member group of the organisation (Press Release, 5 Sept 2007), tolerates membership of those linked with NSCN (IM).

KNO awaits an official declaration from NSCN (IM) and appropriate measures to remedy their dastardly act.

Stephen Kuki

Under secretary, Inf & Publicity

Kuki National Organisation (KNO)

Zale'n-gam

MANMASI

KNO PRESS RELEASE FOR UNLF/MPF

The cordial relationship that existed in the past between Kuki and Meitei peoples has been related by PS Haokip, president of KNO, in Zale'n-gam The Kuki Nation (1985, 25-30) Significant assimilation of Kukis among Meiteis, and the numerous occasions in which the former provided valuable aid to the latter's king in order to retain his throne have been highlighted This detail is being reiterated to jog your memory In 1810, Chourajit, the Meitei king, proclaimed Chingna koina pansaba, Haona koina panngakpa, Manipur sana leimayol. (Rough translation) Encircled by the range of hills, secured all around by the people who dwell therein: Oh Manipur, thou golden land Apart from the prevailing degree of ethnic affinity, responding in practical terms to the king's appeal, in 1820 about 500 Kuki soldiers helped to prevent the king of Ava's incursions, while only 300 Meitei soldiers participated A few decades later, king Chandrakirti (1851-1852), who was abducted by Kamhau, the Sukte Chin king, was rescued by 1200 Kuki soldiers of Zale'n-gam and restored to his throne

Given the historical context, it would be normal to anticipate that a sense of reciprocity would be exercised by the Meitei community towards their neighbours, the Kukis Lamentably, events that have transpired of late show the anti-thesis is the norm in which Kukis are victimised UNLF cadres have set up camps in Kuki areas, where they plant indiscriminate landmines and also carry out offensives against cadres of KNO Objectively, the landmine issue reveals the twin purposes of UNLF a) shielding themselves from the Indian Security Forces, and b) exposing Kukis to the inevitable Indian Security Forces' retaliation. The latest example of this situation is the Khengjoi village incident in this month of December 2006 The calamity at Khengjoi is suffered by the Kuki people a) owing to landmines planted by UNLF, and b) their lands being bombarded by the ISF as a counter offensive Kuki casualties and its indisputable root cause Till date there are 28 Kuki victims of landmines and innumerable numbers rendered

refugees because of the circumstance. 2000 refugees are recorded from the Khengjoi crisis. Your presence in Kuki lands, including at Kale Kabow valley and upper Chindwin, with the approval of corrupt Burmese officials, is also not appreciated One has to ask the question Who authorised you to raze Tahan a Kuki village in Burma to the ground? Why should Kukis suffer casualties on account of Meiteis? The obvious answer to the query is If Meiteis were not on Kuki lands, for instance, the ISF would not carry out their bombardment! Therefore, please do not coax or coerce Kuki village folks to state that the ISF are harassing them and that they should cease operations.

As stated in the preceding paragraph, the root cause of Kuki misery is the UNLF/MPF activity on Kuki territory You leave our lands and planting of landmines and bombardments will automatically come to an end Have the decency as 'gentleman revolutionaries' and allow our people to live and work in peace in their own lands It is fair to comment that you would never tolerate the same kind of activities and consequences if they were to take place in your leikais in the valley. The existing situation is a sheer case of intimidation and imposition of your military might upon the minority Kukis The world is watching and no amount of arguments and counter arguments between you and ISF will ever justify Kukis being victims in their own lands' The Apunba Lup's humanitarian relief efforts to alleviate the plight of the displaced Kukis is appreciated, but do not assume that any credit should be gained at any stage, as your fellow-community members, they are obligated to carry out these token acts of charity Leaving our lands is the ultimatum and that alone will serve as a balm to heal the wounds inflicted by you Otherwise any amount of charity will not be able to hide the fact that on the one hand you maim and kill Kukis, and on the other hand say you are 'Sorry'

For your information, the genesis of the Kuki predicament is the denial by the Government of Manipur dominated by the Meitei people of the following. a) implementation of the Sixth-Schedule b) creation of hill districts of Ukhrul, Tamenglong and Senapati clearly in favour of Nagas who are the dominant population of

the areas, and b) rejection of the creation of Sadar Hills district in the Kuki dominated region. Such incongruity in the Government's administration cannot be swept under the carpet. Fatefully juxtaposed to this predicament is the hostility towards the Kukis perpetrated from 1950s by the Tangkhuls during which 36 Kuki leaders were killed and 64 villages uprooted, culminating in the Kuki genocide led by NSCN (IM) from 1992-1997, when more than 900 were killed, 350 villages uprooted and 50,000 souls rendered refugees. These casualties, needless to say, are unwarranted. With regard to the period of genocide if UNLF's claims of being a 'cosmopolitan' organisation were true, where were they when NSCN (IM) slaughtered the hapless and defenceless Kukis?

Owing to the quandary the Kukis find themselves in there is no other choice but to seek an alternative future to the existing one, one that is independent of the two aggressing communities. This is why the crucial need for Kuki statehood has been articulated in the Manifesto of KNO, which has also been submitted in the form of memorandums to the Government of India. A statehood comprising Kuki ancestral lands is deemed a birthright of the Kuki people. In the immediate sense, this is the only way out of being sandwiched to our utter detriment by the two neighbouring communities, Metteis and Nagas. In the long run, statehood will preserve Kuki identity, culture and past, and also secure an environment that is conducive to development and prosperity. Sadly, these rights have been totally denied to our people in the prevailing status quo. Other factors that have contributed to our people's predicament, as alluded above, are a) reticence concerning implementation of the Sixth-Schedule in the hill areas, b) creation of hill districts in favour of Nagas, and b) rejection of Sadar Hills district in the Kuki dominated region. All of these reveal that the Kuki people, their lands and their future cannot be safe until and unless statehood is accorded. Prolonging the status quo spells a perpetuation of the Kuki predicament. Each and every drop of Kuki blood shed by your hands reinforces the need for separate statehood.

The KNO sincerely appeals to UNLF/MPA to facilitate rather than protract, the on-going plight of the Kuki people. Creation of Kuki statehood is no skin off anybody's because it concerns only our ancestral lands within present-day Manipur. In this regard and in the first instance, we urge UNLF/MPA to desist from operating in our lands in any capacity. In the event that you should choose to remain obstructive to our request, you would be guilty of trespassing on Kuki lands and abusing our human rights. Alternatively, should wisdom, compassion and discernment prevail (rather than the uncivilised urge to intimidate and act irrationally), the future result of our peoples co-existing peacefully and harmoniously as moral human beings will be a fine feather on our respective caps and a model for the rest of the world in similar type of turmoil to emulate.

KNO's appeals may appear supercilious under the circumstances. However, we iterate the sincerity of our standpoint in view of our particular common past and also to demonstrate the goodwill that will be exercised towards all our neighbours after Kuki statehood is realised. This commitment is based on traditional Kuki honour exemplified innumerable times in the past in relation to your community.

In conclusion, with a view to reinforcing the above assurance, separate administrations of Zale'n-gam and Kangleipak bears the potential of being the agglutination (with socio-economic implications) that will be honourable and practicable. This is much needed for our peoples' long-lasting mutual respect and peaceful co-existence.

(Khekhel Kuki)
Under Secretary, Information & Publicity
Kuki National Organisation (KNO)
Zale'n-gam
MANMASI

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the gumption to realise that they cannot succeed in pulling the wool over people's eyes, whether Kuki or Meitei. There are still honest and fair citizens at large free of prejudices and who possess a keen sense of truth and reality.

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Sd/-

Stephen Kuki

Under Secretary, Information & Publicity

Kuki National Organisation

Zale'm-gam

MANMASI

To IS 02-06/07 Manmasi Dated, 04 December 2007

The Kukis

An introductory statement concerning the Kukis on the occasion of the UNITED OLD KUKI LIBERATION ARMY joining the KUKI NATIONAL ORGANISATION

By PS Haokip, President of KNO

In recent history, that is the latter part of the twentieth-century the British colonialists, adopted a divide and rule policy in order to control the ethnic Kuki people and concocted the term 'Old Kuki' and 'New Kuki'. About thirty-odd years ago, this division was further capitalized upon by the neighbouring Tangkhul missionaries in Chandel District of Manipur. The missionaries preached the gospel of Christ in Chandel particularly among the Anal, Moyon and Monshang, Chiru, Chothe, Lamkang, and Maring people, who belong to the 'Old Kuki' categorisation. Following their conversion to Christianity the missionaries made haste to manipulate the people to make them adopt Naga as a political identity. This divisive move was later reinforced by the barrel of the gun by the Nationalists Socialist Council of Nagaland (Isak & Muivah) operating in Manipur. This is a rather unique process, normally western missionaries followed on the heels of colonialism; in this instance of Tangkhul missionaries, the practice was reversed.

From its inception in 1998, the Kuki National Organisation has endeavoured to fulfil the ideology of Zale'n-gam, which is to reunite the entire Kuki people, both 'Old Kuki' and 'New Kuki' and also restore the territorial integrity of Kuki ancestral lands divided by the British between India and Burma, following the Kuki Rising of 1917-1919. The noble efforts began to yield results in August 2005, when several armed Kuki revolutionary groups resolved to join hands with KNO. By 2006, the number of armed Kuki revolutionary groups that share the KNO umbrella grew to a total of eight, namely 1) Kuki National Army, 2) Kuki National

Front (Military Council), iii) Kuki National Front (Zogam), iv) United Socialist Revolutionary Army, v) Zou Defence Volunteer, vi) Zomi Revolutionary Front, vii) United Komrem Revolutionary Army, and viii) Hmar National Army. In July 2007, two more groups were added, Kuki Liberation Army (Manipur) and Kuki Liberation Army (Assam). Today, with the ground-breaking event of the United Old Kuki Liberation Army joining the KNO, the total number has risen to a formidable eleven.

As the Kuki brethren are painfully aware, several forces have persistently attempted to divide the Kukis in order to encroach upon their ancestral lands. First it was the British, then NSCN (IM), and latterly the valley-based armed orgnisations, such as the United National Liberation Front. With the initiative shown by the United Old Kuki Army to become a part of the movement for Zale'n gam along with KNO, it will not be long before our dream and inalienable right to be united, safe and secure in our ancestral lands will be realised. It is then only that we will be able to peacefully co-exist with our neighbours belonging to other ethnicities. Because, then, division among us that

attracted aggressions, leading to clashes with the aggressors, as well as among ourselves as a fall-out of manipulations, e.g. by NSCN (IM) will logically cease to be a force. Therefore, KNO urges every ethnic kith and kin belonging to the 'Old Kuki' or 'New Kuki' categorisations to return to their Kuki roots as the UOKA has done, and help achieve and cherish the dream of statehood for the Kuki people, one in India and another in Burma.

God Bless Zale'n-gam'

PS Haokip

President, Kuki National Organisation

Zale'n-gam

MANMASI

UOKA DR 01-01/07 Manmasi Dated 3rd December 2007

DECLARATION BY THE UNITED OLD KUKI LIBERATION ARMY

WE, THE MARING PEOPLE, BELONG TO THE CATEGORISATION 'OLD KUKI'. THE TERM 'OLD KUKI' AND 'NEW KUKI' WERE COINED BY THE BRITISH TO DIVIDE ZALE'N-GAM, OUR ANCESTRAL LAND BETWEEN BRITISH INDIA AND BRITISH BURMA. THIS WAS HOW THEY CARRIED OUT THEIR 'DIVIDE AND RULE' POLICY AMONG THE INDIGENOUS ETHNIC KUKI PEOPLE.

SADLY, ABOUT THIRTY OR SO YEARS AGO, THE IMPERIALISTS' POLICY OF 'DIVIDE AND RULE' TO FURTHER THE BRITISH EMPIRE WAS ALSO ADOPTED BY THE TANGKHUL MISSIONARIES INSTEAD OF BEING FAITHFUL TO PREACHING THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST AMONG THE 'OLD KUKI' GROUPS IN CHANDEL, THEY FOCUSSED ON DIVIDING THE KUKIS AND SO INFLUENCED THE 'OLD KUKI' PEOPLE TO BE IDENTIFIED AS NAGA AFTER CONVERTING THEM TO CHRISTIANITY.

AFTER THE ROLE OF THE TANGKHUL MISSIONARIES IN CHANDEL OF DIVIDING THE KUKIS, THE NATIONALIST SOCIALIST COUNCIL OF NAGALAND (ISAK & MUIVAH) DOMINATED BY TANGKHUL PEOPLE USED GUN POWER TO REINFORCE THE DIVISION AMONG THE KUKIS. THEY THREATENED THE PEOPLE OF CHANDEL TO IDENTIFY AS NAGA OR ELSE FACE THEIR GUNS. THEIR POLICY IS TO DIVIDE THE KUKIS SO THAT THEIR ANCESTRAL LANDS CAN BE INCLUDED TO 'NAGALIM'

CHANDEL IS POPULATED ONE HUNDRED PER CENT BY THE KUKIS. THIS IS WHY THE TANGKHUL MISSIONARIES AND NSCN (IM) HAVE BEEN DETERMINED TO PERPETUATE DIVISION AMONG US INSTIGATED BY FALSE PROPAGANDA AND USE OF FORCE TO MAKE US SAY THAT WE ARE NAGA. MANY OF OUR YOUTHS, WOMEN AND CHILDREN AND MANY MORE HAVE DIED FROM 1992-1997, WHEN NSCN (IM) CARRIED OUT THE KUKI GENOCIDE

MOST OF THE CASUALTIES OF NSCN (IM) AGGRESSION WAS IN CHANDEL, NOT IN UKHRUL. THIS MEANS IT WAS KUKIS WHO KILLED KUKIS. IN OTHER WORDS, THE TANGKHUL LEADERSHIP OF NSCN (IM) WERE TOTALLY SUCCESSFUL IN THEIR CAMPAIGN TO DOMINATE KUKIS THROUGH THEIR 'DIVIDE AND RULE' POLICY.

THE BRITISH DIVIDED OUR PEOPLE IN ORDER TO RULE OVER US THE TANGKHULS AND NSCN (IM) HAVE DONE THE SAME. NEXT, WE HAVE THE VALLEY BASED MILITANTS, SUCH AS UNITED NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT, WHO PLAN TO INCLUDE OUR ANCESTRAL LANDS TO KANGLEIPAK SO THAT THEY MAY CONTINUE TO DOMINATE US. THE FUTURE DOES NOT SEEM BRIGHT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

HOWEVER, A NEW DAWN IS UPON US BECAUSE THE KUKI NATIONAL ORGANISATION HAS BEGUN THE PROCESS OF UNIFYING OUR PEOPLE, WHICH WILL ALSO PRESERVE THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ZALE'N-GAM, OUR ANCESTRAL LANDS

DETERMINED TO ACHIEVE THE POLITICAL IDEOLOGY OF ZALE'-GAM TO CREATE KUKI STATEHOOD, ONE IN INDIA AND ANOTHER IN BURMA, TODAY, THE UNITED OLD KUKI ARMY, COMPRISING THE MARING PEOPLE SOLEMNLY PLEDGE ALLEGIANCE TO THE KUKI

NATIONAL ORGANISATION. FOLLOWING THIS COMMITMENT, THE UNITED OLD KUKI ARMY COMPRISES THE ELEVENTH ARMED WING OF THE KUKI NATIONAL ORGANISATION.

THE UNITED OLD KUKI LIBERATION ARMY, IN VIEW OF THEIR COMMITMENT TO SERVE THE KUKI PEOPLE STRONGLY URGE EACH AND EVERY ETHNIC BRETHEREN IN CHANDEL, SUCH AS ANAL, MOYON AND MONSHANG, CHOTHE, CHIRU, AND LAMKANG TO RETURN TO THEIR KUKI ROOTS AND JOIN THE NOBLE TASK OF PRESERVING OUR UNITY AND TERRITOTIAL INTEGRITY OF ZALE'N-GAM, THE ANCESTRAL LANS OF THE KUKIS.

IT IS THROUGH UNITY THAT WE WILL PRESERVE OUR IDENTITY AND TERRITORY. IN THIS WAY, EXTERNAL FORCES WILL ALSO CEASE TO ADVERSELY INFLUENCE OUR PEOPLE. IN THIS WAY ALONE, TOO, WE WILL BE ABLE TO PEACEFULLY CO-EXIST WITH ALL OUR NEIGHBOURS. THIS IS ALSO THE PATH FOR OUR PEOPLE TO SPEEDILY DEVELOP AND PROGRESS

LONG LIVE ZALE'N-GAM!!!

ZG/MS No 01-06-08 Manmasi Dated, 24 February 2008

20th KNO Raising Day

Dear members of KNO,

By the grace of God, on this day 24 February 2008, we celebrate KNO's 20th Raising Day. On this momentous day, I send my heartiest appreciation and congratulations to the KNO Cabinet members, all officials and workers, and especially to the wing commanders and brave cadres.

On 24 February 1988, under the leadership of the late Thagkholun Haokip, C-in-C and the late Brigadier Vipin Haokip, Chief of Army Staff (CAS), KNO was formed at Molnoi Kuki village near the Indo-Burma border to restore Zale'n-gam, the Kuki nation to its former glory.

On this auspicious day, I extend my salutations to Thangkholun Haokip C-in-C, Brig Vipin Haokip (CAS), Capt Tongthang Touthang, Capt Paolen Haokip, Lieut Jangkholet Haokip and the scores of other brave men who sacrificed their lives for the Kuki people. I also exhort the family members, their relatives and friends and all members of KNO to join me in paying respect to the memory of the deceased.

It was in 1994 that I took oath to become the president of KNO. I would like to put forward a few of the issues and events that have transpired since then:

1. Zale'n-gam, the land of the Kukis: Following the Kuki genocide (1992-1997) carried out by the Nationalist Socialist council of Nagaland (Isak and Muivah), in 1995 'Zalen'n-gam the Land of the Kukis' was published by KNO. Numerous copies of the publication were distributed far and wide, in order that the world may become aware of the Kukis and their plight

2. In 1995, too, memorandums were submitted to the Government of India and the government of Burma. In these memorandums, the political objectives of the Kuki people, i.e recognition of Kuki ancestral lands by way of statehood, one in India and another in Burma was clearly stated.

3. Zale'n-gam the Land of the Kukis (revised). In 1996, Zale'n-gam the Land of the Kukis was revised and copies were distributed all over the world.

4. Zale'n-gam. The Kuki Nation. Beginning in 1996, to present, a more comprehensive account of the history of the Kukis. I met with numerous elders to consult them on their knowledge. Stories of the Kuki people related by the elders were meticulously typed at Moreh by Pu Anton Kuki over countless hours during intense v hot summer days. The manuscript in a Kuki dialect was later translated into English at Delhi and published in 1998. The publication of 'Zale'n-gam: The Kuki Nation' revealed to the world the history of the Kukis and the grave atrocities committed by NSCN (IM) upon our people.

5. Eastern Zale'n-gam: Burma. For the benefit of the Kuki people in Burma and for the knowledge of the Government of Burma, Pu Letlam Kipgen painstakingly translated 'Eastern Zale'n-gam' into the Burmese language. The manuscript was typed out on a computer by the late son of Dr Tin Swi, Member of Parliament. The book was published in 2000.

6. In August 2005, KNO and the Indian army signed Suspension of Operation (SoO). KNF (MC) and KNF (Z) joined the KNO umbrella in the same year.

7. By 2006, the armed wing of KNO grew to include

i. Kuki National Army,

ii. Kuki National Front (Military Council),

iii. Kuki National Front (Zogam),

iv. United Socialist Revolutionary Army,

v. Zou Defence Volunteer,

vi. Zomi Revolutionary Front,

vii. United Komrem Revolutionary Army, and

viii. Hmar National Army.

8. In July 2007, KNO was also joined by Kuki Liberation Army (Manipur) and Kuki Liberation Army (Assam). In the same year, with the United Old Kuki Army joining the KNO, the total number of armed wing (including KLA (M) and KLA (A)) has risen to a formidable eleven.

9. To strengthen the movement in Burma for a Kuki state, in 2002 KNO joined the Federation of Ethnic Nationalities of Burma (FENB) The members include the Wa, Kuki, Palaung, Paoh, Lahu, Chin, and Arakan peoples.

10. A KNO website kukination.com was launched in 2006 The site is currently under revision. The new website address will be kukination.org

11. KNO participates in the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations at Geneva, Switzerland.

12. On 9 August 2006, KNO and its armed wing, represented by Dr Seilen Haokip and myself, signed the Deed of Commitment to Ban AP landmines with Geneva Call at Geneva. KNO is the 31st organization to sign this important agreement.

13 After signing the Deed of Agreement with Geneva Call, KNO memorandums were also submitted to the India and Burma Missions at Geneva.

14. SoO was renewed in 2006.

15 CNN IBN interviewed Dr Seilen Haokip, spokesman of KNO, in 2006. The CNN IBN crew also visited the KNA camps

in Zale'n-gam, where the cadres were interviewed. The footage showing the cadres (at camp and during their training) and interviews was aired on television nationally. Articles are also posted on ibnlive com under 'India's Secret Wars

16 After twenty years of persistent and committed efforts, the government of India began official talks with KNO on 4 February 2008 at New Delhi. The KNO delegate was led by Pu Lamnunthang Vaiphei, vice-president, Pu TS Haokip, Sect-Def. Pu Se thang Doungel and Dr Seilen Haokip, spokesman KNO

Today, 24 February 2008 by God's grace we celebrate KNO's twentieth Raising Day Our faith and courage to fulfill the dreams of the Kuki people to be fully integrated into the Union of India and Burma by way of our ancestral lands being accorded full statehood by the concerned governments remains in God I exhort all KNO members and the Kuki people to join hands in the effort of realizing our noble inheritance to be a free people in the nations of India and Burma.

At the same time, I also entreat members of KNO and the Kuki people to be as wholeheartedly prepared to pursue our right to freedom should the governments of India and Burma choose not to empathize with our entreaties

God Bless Zale'n-gam!

(PS Haokip)

President,

Kuki National Organisation (KNO)

Zale'n-gam

MANMASI

ZG/AP 02-01/07 Manmasi Dated, 1st December 2007

APPEAL BY PS HAOKIP, PRESIDENT OF KNO TO ALL KUKI BRETHREN OF BURMA

My beloved brethren,

The time has come for us to re-unite in the name of our historical identity, Kuki. Our people's history in the name of Kuki is replete with honour and status demonstrated by our noble chiefs, who concertedly stood up to the British colonialists designs against our ancestral land, Zale'n-gam. They fought vehemently to preserve the territorial integrity of our ancestral lands, which comprise our undivided lands now incorporated within Burma and India. In the twentieth-century, notable occasions of the defense of Zale'n-gam against British incursions include the Kuki Rising of 1917-1919, and latterly, during WWII when our forefathers fought alongside the Imperial Japanese Army and the Indian National Army. The honourable efforts to defend our lands have been etched in the annals of history and preserved for posterity in major libraries of the world, such as the British Library in London. We must remember that the remarkable feat our forebears embarked upon was possible because of unity, evident in the Kuki identity they shared.

I regret to say that for a period of time, i.e. for the last fifty-odd years since Burma and India gained independence from Britain in 1948 and 1947, respectively, our people have suffered an identity crisis and consequently experienced division. This division has cost us dearly. It has prevented us from gaining a stable political status which is our right, maintain peace and harmony among ourselves, and realize proper development. The division has also subjected our people to various forms of indignity and loss of lives and property at the hands of various external forces. Today, we have the opportunity to bring change in order to establish a secure and safe environment, which will benefit the present generation as well as future generations. This can be achieved by uniting as an ethnic people in the name of Kuki, for which there is indisputable historical record concerning not only our identity, but also documented accounts that validate ownership of our land.

The Kuki people are not refugees, but owners of our ancestral lands. The term 'refugee' has been used to malign us by misinformed parties because of the international boundary that separates our people. The international boundary was arbitrarily drawn by the colonialists, our people were not consulted on the matter. By uniting in our ancient identity Kuki, whether we are in present-day Burma or India, we can successfully brace ourselves against the forces of disunity and press forward for stability, peace and development.

In the last fifty-odd years, our people's existence has been greatly threatened because of our internally orchestrated divisions such as clannishness, which has resulted in the absence of a cohesive identity to represent us in the modern world. To be identified individually by our clan identities, such as Ahmar, Zou, Lai, Pei or Maring, Falam, Tiddim, Hmar, Lusei (Mizo), Paite, Gante, Doungel, Touthang, Gangte, Mate, Anal, Chothe, Hanesong, Haokip, Kom, Kolhen, Kipgen, Lamkang, Simte, Thadou, Tarao or Vaiphei etc only encourages sectarianism, breeding unnecessary division. Sectarianism may prove worthwhile to individuals who are motivated by clan-centric ideals and provide them short-term material benefits. However, we stand to loose in the long run. This is evident from our recent past marked by internal conflicts, aggressions by external forces, and compared to our neighbours complete backwardness in terms of development.

In this modern era, sectarianism and so clan-centrism must be replaced by nationalism. Therefore, it is essential that we be bonded by our historical and collective terminology, Kuki. An invaluable contribution to change our dire economic and political circumstances, owing to the absence of a collective identity, was

made in the year 2005 by a Chin leader and gentleman, Tialkhal, President of Chin National Confederation. Pu Tialkhal's contribution, which endorses our Kuki identity, with specific reference to Burma, is greatly appreciated because it helps to build unity based on a common identity. The document, pertaining to this subject is enclosed for your reference and appreciation. The document is especially important because it represents a firm conviction by our neighbours living in Chin Hills that Kuki is also an entity that deserves recognition, especially by virtue of Kuki history during British rule, and more significantly prior to their arrival in our part of the Indian sub-continent during the early part of the twentieth-century.

Based on the advantage provided by our precious history, I make this humble supplication to all members of our community to consider embracing Kuki as your own identity; it is your birthright to claim so. As individual clans, we will not be able to achieve any political status neither in Burma nor in India. Together as Kukis, we will be able to stand firmly on a common platform and establish our people's status as integral entity in Burma as well as in India, and not be subsumed by any other people's identity. In this way we shall be in a position to avail our rights as a unique people in both Burma and in India.

Following the realization of our political status in Myanmar, as president of Kuki National Organisation I promise that each and every Kuki clan members will be provided autonomy in their respective region.

PS Haokip

President, Kuki National Organisation

Zale'n gam

MANMASI

ZG/MS 02-06/08 Manmasi Dated, 2nd March 2008

KUKI NATIONAL ORGANISATION'S OBJECTION TO THE PROPOSAL FOR A CHINDWEEN PAKKAI STATE

On February 7 – 10, 2008, a Constitution Seminar was held at Maesot in Thailand. A proposal was put forward by several MPs of Burma to create a Chindween Pakkai Sate, comprising the lands of Kukis, Nagas in the Sagaing Division. This proposal is unacceptable to the Kuki National Organisation, which seeks to create statehood for the Kukis, comprising their ancestral lands. Please note, Kukis fought against the British colonialists to preserve their ancestral lands from 1917-1919.

In the Kuki rising 1917-1919 which is well chronicled in many contemporaneous British records, the Kukis fought bravely and fiercely to preserve the freedom and sovereignty in their Zale'n-gam. Zale'n-gam was the land where the Kukis has complete freedom and sovereignty till 1919, when after the war the British suppressed it. Zale'n-gam then extended from the Chindwin River in the East till the North Cachar Hills of Assam in India. After 1919 many of the Kuki Chiefs and leaders of the war were imprisoned at Taunggyi jail as under:

Sl No.	Name	Imprisoned for:
1.	Kamjadem (Kamjahen Haokip, Chief of Phailengjang I)	3 Years
2.	Tongkwalun (Tongkholun Haokip Chief of Phailengjang II)	3 Years
3	Letkwatang (Letkhothang, Chief of Khotuh)	3 Years
4	Semkwalun (Semkholun Haokip, Chief of Phaisat)	3 Years
5	Zahlun (Jalhun Haokip, Chief of Molvom)	3 Years

6.	Shuku (Tukih Lupheng, Chief of Tonglhang)	3 Years
7.	Vumnul (Vumngul Kipgen, Chief of Tujang)	3 Years
8.	Haokwapao (Hoikhopao Kipgen, Chief of Molvaihup)	3 Years
9.	Notzang (Nohjang Kipgen, Chief of Saisem)	3 Years
10.	Ngulkolun (Ngulkholun)	3 Years

This war was not only a war for the preservation of Zale'n-gam's sovereignty but it was also a war against British Colonialism. During the Second World War, the Kuki's contribution against colonial imperialism and for the attainment of Burma's freedom from colonial yoke cannot be underestimated. The Kukis took active part in the war efforts of Subhas Chandra Bose and his Indian National Warriors (INA) with headquarters at Rangoon. Both India and Burma were under the same British Administration like us at that time. The Kukis had actively participated in the freedom struggle against the British colonial power with the hope that they would get back the sovereignty of Zale'n-gam, viz. The Kuki Nation. Subash Chandra Bose in fact promised this. However, unfortunately, for us, with the victory of the Allied powers, we again saw our hopes and aspirations crushed. In the post-colonial period we found ourselves dismembered and scattered into two countries - half in Burma and half in India. However, since after the Second World War we had never taken up arms or raised the banner of revolt against either India or Burma, even while other ethnic groups in both the countries have been continually raising their voices of dissent.

An autonomous enclave for the Kukis is warranted a hundred times over both in India as well as in Burma but such a concept has been elusive in both the countries.

Kukis will not allow any other peoples to settle their lands in any other way than their own will.

This missive explains the reasons for KNO's stand:

Kuki and Naga are two separate peoples. They are ethnically, socially, culturally and linguistically unique from each other. In the case of our people in India, from 1992-1997, the NSCN (IM) carried out the Kuki genocide in which over 900 people were killed, 350-odd villages uprooted and 50,000 plus souls displaced. Therefore, it is not possible to create a situation where the two ethnic groups could be put together in one administrative set up, such as a state. KNO is a member of the Federation of Ethnic Nationalities of Burma. This organisation wants a state for each of the ethnic groups in Burma. Presently, FENB members include Wa, Palaung, Paoh, Lahu, Chin, Arakan and Kuki. Each of these groups has its own revolutionary organisation to fight for their political demand. Similarly, NSCN (K) have been engaged in seeking their own political agenda for the last few decades. Their sentiment also must be respected. It is therefore inappropriate that an idea like Chindween Pakkai State should be mooted without consulting KNO and NSCN (K).

A study of the proposal for Chindween Pakkai State shows that the intention is to create division between the Kukis and Nagas.

Burma is a large country which can have at least 20-30 states. This is the way each entity is duly recognised and made integral parts of the nation. The fourth FENB meeting was held on 18 June 2004. Excerpts of a press release from the Thai- Burma border is as follows:

1) The fourth meeting of Federation of Ethnic Nationalities of Burma - FENB, which is formed by ethnic nationalities from Burma, was successfully held on June 18, 2004 at Thai-Burma border. Wa National Organization, Palaung State Liberation Front, Lahu Democratic Front, Kuki National Organization have formed FENB in January 2002 and then came the Pa-O People Liberation Organization after one month and today with the joining of Democratic Party of Arakan and Chin National Confederation

the alliance had seven members. FENB will keep fighting for a federal union of Burma where each and every ethnic nationality has a state of their own and will ensure the equality of ethnic nationalities in Burma and their right to self-determination.

2) FENB, which is based on ethnic nationality, identify their common needs and agreed to promote each other as well as all ethnic nationals of Burma, who are owners of their ancestral land. These ethnic nationalities have political rights, regardless of the size of their land and size of populations, advanced or backward socio-economically have agreed to establish a genuine federal council, and a federal state union.

3) FENB will initiate to establish a genuine federal council, so that all ethnic nationals can participate and can guarantee their rights. FENB also aims to support the National Democratic Front and other current political alliances, which oppose the illegal military regime.

With regard to the history of the Kuki people certain salient aspects are included in this missive for your reference.

Culture and History:

Traditionally, Kuki form of governance is based on Haosa ki va po (Chieftainship). The government is comprised of a two-tiered system (bicameral): a) Upa Innpi or Bulpite Vaipohna (Upper House) and b) Haosa Innpi or Kho Haosa Vaipohna (Lower House). Semang and Pachong (council of ministers and auxiliary members) aid the chief in the day-to-day administration. Cha'nglon (Assistant), Lhangsam (Town crier), Thiempu (High Priest and Judge), Lawm Upa (Minister of Youth & Cultural Affairs), Thilpu (Village Blacksmith) include the essential elements of a Kuki community.

In the aftermath of the 'Kuki rising, 1917-1919' (OIOC) the British colonialists divided Kuki ancestral lands between British India and British Burma. Kuki ancestral land in Burma begins from the river Chindwin, stretching to the west bordering India, in the north, up to the river Nantalit and its surrounding regions and to the south, the region up to the northern border of Chin State.

Following Burma's independence from Britain in 1948, the Kukis were reconciled to being an integral part of the country. However, general neglect of the people by the Government prompted KNO's armed cadre, Kuki National Army to carry out offensives against the Burmese army. These activities have now ceased completely in view of KNO's decision to pursue through peaceful means a solution to the Kuki problem in Burma. In this connection, some of the grievances faced by the people are being highlighted fro your appraisal.

In 1967, under U Muang Maung's "Khadawami Operation" the Government of Revolutionary Council headed by General Newin, displaced 20,000 Kukis in the Kabow valley under the excuse that they were holding bogus "National Registration and family registration cards".

From 1980s there have been deliberate attempts at displacing the Kukis and populating the Kabow valley with other ethnic Burmese tribes. The settlements of Ongchija, Tanan, Myothit, Saya San, Bandulah, Nanaungow, Mantong and Ywatha, which were deliberately set up by the Military Government in the Kabow Valley are existing examples of discrimination against the Kukis. We do not have objection to live with them peacefully but only as long as there is an equitable approach at the Government policy levels. Till now the Military Government has given us a step-motherly treatment.

Since 1990 the SLORC Government have been extracting forced-labor from the Kukis in the Kabow Valley. The Army has dispossessed many Kuki villages of their lands. A glaring example

of this is at Watsu in 1992 under the direct supervision of the General Secretary II Gen Tin O

In the beginning of 1993 Nungkam, a Kuki village was burnt and bulldozed and in its place a new military settlement, Saya San Ywo, was set up The ostensible reason for this was that the Kukis refuse to convert to Buddhism. The village Church was burnt down. There are many other instances, which are glaring examples of SLORC's discrimination against the Kukis in Burma (Myanmar).

The student community Kuki Students Democratic Front, Burma (KSDF) has submitted a representation highlighting Human Rights violation by SLORC against ethnic Nationalities (1993-94) in Burma (Myanmar). Apart from mentioning forced labour and forceful occupation of village lands by the warriors they highlighted one incident at Phailen, a Kuki village in the Kabow Valley. It appears that one soldier from the 89 battalion of Burmese warriors deserted his camp based in Phailen village with a few rifles and ammunition. Subsequently, a Burmese platoon stormed into the village, killed four people and arrested twelve others (all are consisting of Kuki religious leaders of Phailen Baptist Church) A ransom of 200,000 Kyats was demanded for their release U Mangpu (45), Chairman of village, Law and Order Restoration Council; Rev. Yangkholet (48), the Pastor of Phailen Baptist Church; U Thangkhai (28) and U Haopu (25) were brutally tortured to death, during the first week of August 1993 U Maungpu's house was demolished and his cows and domestic pets were used as ration for the platoon His wife has been imprisoned in Monywa jail since then. This news was broadcast by BBC Burmese section on11.08 93.

All these incidents of harassment, torture and discrimination by the Military Government have been a matter of deep concern for us. We are surprised and shocked, mainly because we have never raised the banner of rebellion against independent Burma like the other ethnic groups, such as the Chins, the Kachins, Karens

etc Even then we have been continuously treated as anti-nationals. The only reason for this seems to be that we are not Buddhists but Christians in general. In this regard Myanmar has at no time declared itself as a theocratic Buddhist State Buddhism, as we know it, is a non-violent all-encompassing religion and in this context, the actions of the military-regime are paradoxical As per our understanding, Myanmar is supposed to be a democratic and peace-loving country where all ethnic groups may live in harmony, professing any religion of their choice.

In this missive, KNO would like to draw the attention all to the following issues concerning the Kuki people in Burma

i) Safeguarding the territorial integrity of Kuki lands and preservation of their identity by the Government of Burma is imperative. To the Kuki people this issue is more important than the political status of Burma, i e military state or democracy

ii) Kukis want to be fully integrated within the Union of Burma. To achieve this objective, KNO wants the Government to accord statehood to Kuki ancestral lands.

iii)The proposal for Kuki statehood includes their ancestral lands starting from the river Chindwin towards the west bordering India, in the north, up to the river Nantalit and its surrounding regions, and to the south, the region stretching to the northern border of Chin State.

iv) Statehood would allay the fear that the Government might plan to inhabit ethnic Burmese transplanted from other regions of Burma and settle them on Kuki lands with a view to rendering them a minority in their own territory For example, in 2004 as well, a new Burmese village, Yan Nyang Aung was established between I allim and Panda Kuki villages

v) Prevent Meitei militants from Manipur in India to use Kuki lands in Burma to carry out activities against the Kuki people, as well as the Indian army across the international border For

example, in a recent Manipur People's Army (conglomeration of Meitei militant groups) attack on the Assam Rifles out-post at a Kuki village, Chavangphai, Ward 7 Moreh, near the Indo-Burma border, four local civilians, including two women suffered severe injuries (20 July 2006, Imphal Free Press). A house at S Moljol, an adjacent village was also hit by a 60 mm bomb, injuring two people The BBC http //www.bbc.co.uk/burmese/ also reported that on the Burmese side of the border, two Kuki villages, Valpabung and Namphalong, were affected when Assam Rifles retaliated The injured village folks were refused immediate medical attention at the hospital at Tamu, a town in Kaboy valley because the Burmese police reported the casualties were not caused by the crossfire that occurred the previous night.

KNO believes that it would not be presumptuous to state that fulfilment of their aspirations would contribute to peace and stability of the nation Therefore, I request the Member of Parliament in exile to support creation of Kuki statehood rather than propose a Chindween Pakkai State. Your support would inspire confidence among the Kukis and dispel notions that Burmans and other ethnic groups intend to exploit Kuki lands and its people.

PS Haokip

President, Kuki National Organisation

Zale'n-gam

MANMASI

ANNEXURE II

MEMORANDUM

ZG/GEN No. 01-07/95 Manmasi, 2nd October 1995

To,

Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao

Hon'ble Prime Minister of India

3, Race Course Road

NEW DELHI

Dear Raoji,

Please find enclosed a book entitled "Zale'n-gam", in which I had made a humble attempt at presenting the circumstances faced

by the Kukis in the North-Eastern States of the Country. The brief historical background of the Kuki War of Independence, 1917-1919 will give you an idea of the extent of the Kuki Gam (Kuki Areas), and how the British colonial Government had disabled us by separating our land and people between India and Myanmar, and also by forcefully displacing us from certain areas. Even in Independent India, we find ourselves in wilderness - the Delhi Government does not even acknowledge our existence even though state-hood to the Kukis would have been warranted many times more than the Nagas or the Mizos. There are at least 170 (One hundred seventy) Kuki (living) INA pensioners who sacrificed their youthful years for the freedom of the country In "Freedom Fighters of Manipur" published by Freedom Fighters cell / Department MPCC (I) on the occasion of congress centenary year of 1985, out of 112 war prisoners with their photos depicted 80 were of Kukis. There is not even one Naga representation. There may not be even one Naga or Mizo freedom fighter. There are many records available, which indicate that the Nagas and Mizos willingly joined the British War effort in France (World War I). The Kukis however prided their sovereignty and fought against the British along side the INA and in fact had to face the wrath of the British subsequently. It is ironical that even till today, in a free India, for which many sacrificed their lives, we are still ignored and neglected.

The Nagas under the NSCN (M) have resorted to burning our villages and killing our women and children. It seems that New Delhi is deaf to the wails and cries of widows and Orphans, that it has ears only for the guns and violence of the Nagas. Since 1987 the Kuki Leaders have been repeatedly filing complaints and memorandums to the Government of India. There has been no response in any form except that a Naga Chief Minister has been propped up and further, another Naga has been made a Minister of State in the sensitive Ministry for Home Affairs. The ethnic clashes in Manipur between the Kuki Tribes and Naga Tribes of Manipur is now an old story and rarely finds mention in

the National Papers these days. The situation is still very far from normal and the dangers of propping up a Tangkhul Naga Chief Minister (Rishang Keishing) at this stage should be obvious to every-body. I may mention here that Shri Kamson is Rishang's man who had been elected on the strength of Kuki votes during Lok Sabha Election in 1990 before the ethnic clashes had ensued and now there is no way he can win again due to the current ethnic animosity. Shri Rishang is now boasting that he will achieve his objective of a Southern Nagaland state, or a greater Nagaland state inclusive of parts of Manipur populated by Naga Tribes. I have made clear in my book, 'Zale'n-gam', that the District of Tamenglong and Ukhrul in Manipur were originally Kuki areas until the colonial British Government scattered us after the Kuki rising 1917-1919. Even till today Kuki settlements exist side by side with Naga Villages in the propagated Southern Nagaland. I have also mentioned in the book that the "16 Point Agreement" for a greater Nagaland 1963 was one of the root causes of the present ethnic clashes. In this premise, grant of a Southern Nagaland would only mean adding fuel to the fire stoking the fire of ethnic animosity between the Kukis and Nagas. It will only lead to further bloodshed. We were initially caught on the wrong foot but next time we will be fully prepared. The bloodshed that may follow will be the sole responsibility of the Indian Government. It is therefore, imperative that the idea of Southern Nagaland be thwarted at this stage itself. If India is at all interested in bringing peace to the beautiful hills of this North Eastern Corner of the country, the first step is to remove such communal minded leaders as Shri Keishing who was in fact removed by our late Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi on the basis of evidence that he was actively involved with the NSCN (IM) movement. He had even once faked his own assassination attempt in which many jawans lost their lives including a commandant. 'My Presidential Years', by R. Venkataraman, Page No. 59, Para 2, paperback edition, may please be referred for an assessment of the kind of person Shri Keishing is. The former president narrated "I have

noticed his sneaking sympathy for the insurgents . .. Even after I talked to him several times to help the warriors maintain peace and security in Manipur, he did precious little to assist them. My report to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at that time did not have much effect. The President can listen but cannot express his opinions.... So I held my tongue till the discussion was over and I concluded, repeating my unfailing formula, "I shall look into it". Further, Shri Kamson who now occupies a responsible post as Minister of State for Home Affairs, during a meeting with some students from Manipur (September, 95) referred to the Kukis as "Dogs". It is in the interest of the country that such petty communal minded persons are not put in a responsible post. The Nagas already have statehood in Nagaland and there has been no problem from the Naga Tribes of Nagaland and Kukis have been peaceful citizens in that state

It is only the Tribes classified as Nagas in Manipur such as the Tangkhuls, Kabuis and Rongmeis, who have been behind the ethnic violence. If a second state (Southern Nagaland) can be considered for these trouble makers under such circumstances, the first state for the Kukis should be considered first. The proposed Southern Nagaland Districts are also the Homeland of the Kuki Tribes. The Districts of Churachandpur, Chandel, and Sadar Hills are occupied 100% by the Kukis and further the districts of Senapati, Ukhrul and Tamenglong have a mix population of both the Kukis and the Nagas. In these circumstances it is absolutely necessary in the interest of peace in the area that the idea of a Southern Nagaland is snubbed along with its protagonists. It should by now be obvious from the 48 years experience with independence, that the Government's policy of wooing the Naga Trouble makers will not bring peace to the region. This policy will only strengthen Naga secessionist movement. As long as the reins of the State Government is given to the Nagas such as Rishang Keishing and Kamson there cannot be any sense of peace and security to the general populace particularly the Kukis.

It is an indirect result of New Delhi's policy of appeasement to the Nagas that the "Naga Lim Guards" and the NSCN (M) resorted to killing of about 700 Kuki's till today (mainly women, children and the aged). There are hundreds of widows and orphans and about 50,000 Kukis homeless. Any relief material sent by the Government is cleverly diverted by the Naga Chief Minister and used only for strengthening, encouraging the insurgency movement of the Nagas. Para Military forces or Warriors are sent for deployment in the hill districts are used only in the valley areas or stationed for protection of Naga Villages. They are also deployed to comb Kuki Villages and disarm them of their hand made guns including licensed arms, which the villagers required for their own defence purposes. There are many instances when combing operations by the armed forces in the Kuki areas are immediately followed by attacks by Naga Tribesmen upon the defenceless Kuki villages. This has lead to strong suspicions against the Government. The Kukis are gradually losing faith in New Delhi, which is blind to the fact that many Kuki villages have already been vacated or displaced. During your recent visit to France (June '95) Doordarshan had telecast your speech in which you mentioned the Mizo War against the British and how Mizos had contributed to the freedom struggle of India. This was received with great consternation and anger by the Kukis and warrants an apology from your side. It is on record that the Mizos never fought the British but in fact actively co-operated with them even in their Memorandum submitted by leaders of Zo Reunification Organisation to President Bill Clinton of U.S.A. in Page No. 11 they wrote that "At all times whenever the British needed help as world war I, Abhor Expeditions, Haosip Rebellion (Kuki rising, 1917-1919) and World War II the willing services of the Mizo people were readily available". In fact there are many Journals in which the Mizos themselves proudly claimed their association with the British. It must be clarified along with your apology that the only tribes in the Northeast who resisted and fought the British and contributed to the freedom struggle of India

were the Kukis. This is clearly evident in History of Assam Rifles by Col Shakespeare and the above-mentioned MPCC (I) publication on the congress/centenary year (1985) Your statement in Paris has convinced my people that there is a deliberate policy of the Indian Government to erase the Kuki contribution towards the building of Independent India, that there is now no option for us but to fend for ourselves and to seek a sovereign Independent Kuki state (Zale'n-gam) In principle we have nothing against the Nagas, (Our neighbours) or the Mizos (our Brothers) We do not envy their statehood The Holy Bible also has a parable/where a fatted calf was killed to welcome the return of the prodigal son However, this did not please the elder son who felt neglected. Similarly, the Kukis find themselves neglected and in the wilderness today in spite of their loyalty, patriotism and their contribution in the freedom struggle.

The Kukis in Nagaland are now faced with a desperate situation Many senior Government officers have been assassinated by the NSCN (M) The remaining others is in their hit list Quit notices have been served upon the people in general. There are reports that the Kukis in Nagaland are unable to acquire photo identity cards due to the threat and sense of insecurity faced by them. In the Medziphema area of Nagaland, the Kukis were forced to surrender their rights over their own land to the neighbouring Naga Tribes and are therefore now reduced to the status of mere tenants. Many villagers have migrated to Assam and Manipur adding to the growing number of refugees. Even in Assam, where Kukis are also settled in large numbers the NSCN (M) has spread its ethnic campaign against the Kukis. Many villages have already been burnt and many villagers killed in the New Kachar Hills and Karbi Anglong districts of Assam. Even then there is not even a show of concern by the Government. In these circumstances the Prime Minister, if he considers himself a Prime Minister for the Kukis also, should directly intervene and consider creating an enclave where the Kukis from all areas can be settled and where they can govern themselves. In the alternative, we will be

forced to create a homeland or a statehood of our own, if necessary through 'barrel of the Gun'. The ball is in your court' The recent events have shown that the Kuki Tribes can protect themselves and work for peace and development only if a separate statehood is created for them It will only be in statehood that they can have their own machinery to look after themselves or is the Prime Minister waiting to see us all eliminated or expecting us to suffer quietly If that is so it will be a grave mistake, as suffering does not remain quiet. The cries of widows and orphans will not be forgotten and the Prime Minister will realise his mistake only too late and we will have to sever ourselves from India and seek complete Independence During the war of 1917 19 9 many of our Chiefs were killed or imprisoned in our strife to preserve our sovereignty. Many of our people were scattered and rendered homeless, many women and children were widowed and orphaned. We however, remained quiet till today with full faith in an independent India But now we realise that goodness and silence is not necessarily golden, it does not bring rewards and that the New Delhi government has ears only for the sound of guns and not the wailing of widows and children We will not remain quiet now, and the Prime Minister will be mistaken if he expects us to remain quiet On the other hand my people are beginning to question why Narasimha Rao is remaining quiet even after more than 700 innocent Kuki Villagers have already been slaughtered, and that too in a most barbaric manner' How many widows and children will have to be added to the long list of victims so that the Prime Minister will turn their way Or is the Indian Government, or the fundamental rights to life and liberty not meant for the Kukis? Even if the Indian Prime Minister has a heart of stone, I do have a human heart, and as long as my people have tears, and widows and orphans are crying I will not remain quiet I am prepared to make the extreme sacrifice for my people The feelings of my boys are no less My only plea is for the Prime Minister to turn our way if but only once

I may not be making any more written representations. With regards and best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

PS Haokip

President, Kuki National Organisation

Zale`n-gam

MANMASI

ZG/GEN No. 01-08/95 Manmasi, 4th October 199

To,

Opposition Leader, Parliament

Dear Vajpayeeji,

I had earlier sent you a book entitled, 'Zale'n-gam' which I assume you might have found time to browse through. In that book, one of the points I have made was how the Narasimha Rao Government was propping up Shri Rishang Keishing, a Tangkhul Naga, as Chief Minister of Manipur in spite of having been routed in the Assembly Elections 1995 with only 24 members out of a house of 60 members.

The ethnic clashes in Manipur between the Kuki Tribes and Naga Tribes of Manipur is now an old story and rarely finds mention in the National Papers these days. The situation is still very far from normal and the dangers of propping up a Tangkhul Naga Chief Minister at this stage should be obvious to every body. However Shri Narasimha Rao has even gone a step further in appointing Shri Meijinlung Kamson, a Kabui Naga and Lok Sabha member as Minister of State of the sensitive Home Ministry. I may mention here that Shri Kamson is Rishang's man who had been elected on the strength of Kuki votes (during Lok Sabha Election in 1990 before the ethnic clashes had ensued) and now there is no way he can win again due to the current ethnic animosity. Shri Rishang is now boasting that he will achieve his objective of a Southern Nagaland state, or a greater Nagaland state inclusive of parts of Manipur populated by Naga Tribes. I have already made clear in my book, 'Zale'n-gam', that the District of Tamenglong and Ukhrul in Manipur were originally Kuki areas until the colonial British Government scattered us after the Kuki rising 1917-19,19 Even till today Kuki settlements exist side by side with Naga villages in the propagated Southern Nagaland. I had also

mentioned in the book that the "16 Point Agreement" for a greater Nagaland 1960 was one of the root causes of the present ethnic clashes. In this premise, grant of a Southern Nagaland would only mean adding fuel to the fire, stoking the fire of ethnic animosity between the Kukis and Nagas. It will only lead to further bloodshed. We were initially caught on the wrong foot but next time we will be fully prepared. The bloodshed that may follow will be the sole responsibility of the Indian Government.

It is therefore, imperative that the idea of Southern Nagaland is thwarted at this stage itself. If India is at all interested in bringing peace to the beautiful hills of this North Eastern Corner of the country, the first step is to remove such communal minded leaders as Shri Keishing who was in fact removed by our late Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi on the basis of evidence that he was actively involved with the NSCN (IM) movement. He had even once faked his own assassination attempt in which many Jawans lost their lives including a commandant. 'My Presidential Years', by R. Venkataraman, Page No. 59, Para 2 paperback edition, may please be referred for an assessment of the kind of person Shri Keishing is. The former president narrated, 'I have noticed his sneaking sympathy for the insurgents. Even after I talked to him several times to help the warriors maintain peace and security in Manipur, he did precious little to assist them. My report to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at that time did not have much effect. The President can listen but cannot express his opinions... So I held my tongue till the discussion was over and I concluded, repeating my unfailing formula, "I shall look into it". Further, Shri Kamson who now occupies a responsible post as Minister of State for Home Affairs, during a meeting with some students from Manipur (September, 95) referred to the Kukis as "Dogs". It is in the interest of the country that such petty communal minded persons are not put in a responsible post.

The Nagas already have statehood in Nagaland and there has been no problem from the Naga Tribes of Nagaland. It is only the Tribes

classified as Nagas in Manipur such as the Tangkhuls, Kabui and Rongmeis, who have been behind the ethnic violence. If a Southern Nagaland is to be considered for these trouble makers there is no reason why the Kukis will also not rise up in the demand for a homeland (KUKI STATE). The consequences as you can understand will be very bloody because the Southern Nagaland Districts are also the Homeland of the Kuki Tribes. The Districts of Churachandpur, Chandel, and Sadar Hills are occupied 100% by the Kukis and further the districts of Senapati Ukhrul and Tamenglong have a mix population of both the Kukis and the Nagas.

In these circumstances it is absolutely necessary in the interest of peace in the area that the idea of a Southern Nagaland is snubbed if and whenever it is tabled in Parliament. For this, we look to your understanding and leadership.

With regards and best wishes for every success in your work and ideals.

Also addressed to:

Almost all the opposition MPs

Yours sincerely,

PS Haokip

President, Kuki National Organisation

Zale'n-gam

MANMASI

ZG/GEN No. 01-14/95 Manmasi Dated, 17th June 1996

To,

Shri H D Gowda

Hon'ble Prime Minister of India

3, Race Course Road, NEW DELHI

Dear Gowdaji,

Hon'ble Prime Minister, India

The Kuki People extends warm felicitations on your election as the Prime Minister of India. With encouragement and hope we wish to draw your kind attention to the plight of the Kuki People in the ethnic cleansing campaign perpetrated by the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Muivah), with the tacit support of the current Chief Minister of Manipur Rishang Keishing, and until very recently, the ineffective application of the Central Government of India

From time immemorial, the Kuki people have lived predominantly in Manipur, Nagaland and the Sagaing Division of present day Myanmar (Burma). In these areas, until recently the Kuki Naga people co-existed peacefully. However, this peaceful co-existence has been radically upset by the pursuit of greater Nagaland or Southern Nagaland State, which entails the removal of the Kukis settlements from the districts of Ukhrul, Senapati or Tamenglong in Manipur. Spearheading this ethnic cleansing effort is Muivah's NSCN and the 'Naga Limguard' under the guardianship of Keishing. Keishing has stated that there are no Kukis in Manipur, probably with reference to the statesscheduled of Tribes where the term 'Kuki" does not find mention. This is a very cleaver but misleading statement and unbecoming of a Chief Minister. He himself knows very well that the term 'Kuki' is a generic term for all the tribes falling under the Kuki-Chin-Mizo category and

constitute about seventy percent of the states tribal population. We were happy to learn your proposed visit to Manipur and Nagaland. While extending an offer of the warmest hospitality from our people, I cannot help but caution you of the clever guile and manipulations of such petty communal-minded leaders as Shri Keishing and Shri M. Kamson (former Union Minister of States in the Ministry of Home Affairs). I am given to understand that your government is keen to have a dialogue with the NSCN (IM). I fail to understand the reasons for this line of thinking or what you may hope to achieve in such a move. You may be well advised that any attempt to pamper Naga extremism at the cost of Kuki interest will not be tolerated and may only lead to your embarrassment.

For your kind reference and to provide an insight and perspective to the situation we are faced with, I am enclosing some material as follow:

Zale'n-gam, the land of the Kukis Latter to P V Narasimha Rao former Prime Minister of India

Letter to Sanjoy Hazarika

Letter to Angami Public Organisation

Letter to Vir Sanghvi

Paper cuts from Hindustan Times dt.30.07.96"NSCN Chief Stayed with Minister".

Yours faithfully,

PS Haokip

President, Kuki National Organisation

Zale'n-gam

MANMASI

ZG/UB No. 02-06/02 Manmasi Dated, 25 April 2002

Mr Razali Ismail

United Nations Special Envoy to Burma

United Nations Organisation

Geneva

Switzerland

Dear Mr Ismail,

The Kuki National Organisation, the provisional government of Zale'n-gam, appreciates your efforts as special envoy of the United Nations to mediate between the National League for Democracy and the Military Junta. I believe your input will contribute towards lasting and peaceful solutions to the existing political problems in Burma. The current negotiations are of immense significance to the Kuki people as well because our interests would be directly affected by the outcomes. In this regard, I like to draw your kind attention to the historical backdrop of the Kukis and to some of the main issues that concern our people so that they may be taken into consideration in future deliberations.

Sovereignty and complete independence mark the history of the Kuki people prior to the advent of British colonialism in the nineteenth-century. In Kuki country the Kuki chiefs received taxes and tributes from the inhabitants belonging to other ethnic communities. Col Shakespear[1] and Maj. Gen. Pal[2] refer to the lands of the Kuki chiefs, for which they fought the colonialists during World War I from 1917 to 1919, and during World War II. The Kukis were the last opponents to British colonialism in the region.

The Kuki country, in terms of the present-day geography, is as follows:

In Burma, Kuki lands which are in the Sagaing Division are:

a) Kuki areas from the north of the river Nantalit and those between the north of Chin state, b) east of river Chindwin, and

c) upto Tamu, bordering India.

In India, predominantly, Kuki lands covered the entire hill ranges in Manipur state; North Cachar Hills, Karb. Anglong, mainly by people, the Athibung Sub-Division of Dimapur District, Kuki and Akhan in Phek District of Nagaland state. The Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh.

Following the first Kuki war of independence in 1917 - 1919, the British imperial power conquered the Kukis and annexed their territory. Kuki territory was then brought under the British India and British Burma administrations. The subjugation of the Kukis during WWI did not break their spirit to struggle against the colonialists' ambitions. During WWII, the Kukis, under the leadership of Pu Pakang Haokip, alias Japan Pakang, allied with the Indian National Army and the Axis Powers and made a second attempt to regain their sovereignty and the independence of the country. In the aftermath of WWII, following defeat at the hands of the Allied forces, Britain reinforced its domination over the Kukis. This, subsequently, led to Kuki country being divided between independent Burma and India. It may be noted that historically the Kukis were never a part of either India or Burma. The Kuki people have not reconciled to the colonial and post-colonial deliberations; they continue to seek justice and genuine redressal to their plight.

The British Government's condition for Burma's independence required the explicit consent between the dominant Burmese ethnic group and the ethnic minorities, each of which represented

their own country. This is inscribed in the Panglong Agreement of 12 February 1947. The agreement is symbolic of the historical fact that the ethnic groups were independent peoples before British rule was imposed. It also shows that there was never a nation of Burma as in the present day, or before the arrival of the British. Today, however, as a consequence of the Panglong Agreement, several ethnic groups, including Kukis, who were not party to the agreement because they were not willing to compromise their freedom or accept alien rule, have been brought under Burmese domination.

With regard to the Panglong Agreement, I like to draw your attention to the fact that the Burmese government has not fulfilled their obligations. For example, the ethnic minorities, who were to have the choice to their own independence, following a ten-year trial period as part of Burma, were denied the option. Instead, the Military Junta has been actively engaged in a process of Burmanisation that includes conversion to Buddhism, imposition of the Burmese language through educational policies, etc. U Nu, the Prime Minister, declared in his election manifesto in 1958 that should he be elected to power, Buddhism would become the state's religion. All of these violate the ethnic minorities' rights to preservation and development of their traditional language, culture and customs.

There is a Burmese saying (paraphrased): 'Land cannot swallow man, but man can.' This saying is reflected in the government's policies and activities that directly affect the Kuki people. During the Khadawmi Operation in 1967, more than 20,000 Kuki people were driven into exile. In the process many Kuki villages were wiped out. In those forcefully vacated Kuki lands, vast numbers of ethnic Burmese people were settled. This transplantation of Burmese people into Kuki lands, some extracted from Rangoon to pave the way for the beautification process to attract tourists to Burma, continue to this day. The activities of the Burmese government clearly reveal their intention to annihilate the identity,

and existence, of the ethnic minority groups in Burma. The situation of the ethnic minorities is exacerbated by the continuous abuses of their basic human rights; such as through forced labour. As a consequence, opposition to the blatant exploitations has manifested in the form of resistance through various armed movements, for example, Karen National Organisation formed in 1949, and Kachin Independent Organisation in 1961. Today virtually every single ethnic group has similar organisations to oppose totalitarianism and Burmanisation in Burma, including the Kuki National Organisation and its armed wing Kuki National Army represent the Kukis.

Given the context and dire outcome of the Panglong Agreement as a precedent, it would be incorrect and misleading for any mediation efforts, particularly the United Nations, to be carried out with just the National League for Democracy or the Military Junta. These two bodies do not necessarily represent all parties or every ethnic group that are owners of their own lands. Similar consequences and developments owing to the Panglong Agreement should be avoided at all costs. Therefore, the participation of ethnic armed organisations in negotiations such as the Kuki National Organisation, must be seriously considered.

Following the Military Junta's denial to let the National League for Democracy form the Government after their landside victory in the National elections in 1990, many of the party's members have been in exile around the world. These members in exile, mostly Burmese ethnic people, and the ethnic armed groups have together formed the Democratic Alliance of Burma. The objective of this organisation is to pursue democracy with principles of federalism so that there may be a free and fair future for the people. If necessary, the Democratic Alliance of Burma movement will resort to arms to achieve its objective. It may be noted, however, that this collaboration is viewed with a considerable degree of suspicion because of the unfortunate 'dispositional' guise of the dominant Burmese ethnic group.

Given these backgrounds and circumstances, where their interest is concerned the ethnic minorities do not have confidence that agreements can be set in place and implementations carried out through internal arrangements. Supervision and involvement of external bodies, namely that of the United Nations' for deliberations and implementations specifically of plans affecting the ethnic minorities, is strongly emphasized.

Therefore, in pursuance of the wishes of the Kuki people, the Kuki National Organisation requests that the United Nations Organisation while deliberating over issues in Burma consider the following recommendations:

1 A Kuki state be granted in present-day Sagaing Division, consisting of areas within the following boundaries: a) North: the river Nantalit, b) South: Chin state. c) West: the river Chindwin and d) East: present eastern boundary of India.

2 The Burmese population that was transplanted into the areas where the Kukis were made to vacate forcefully be rehabilitated to suitable regions belonging to the Burmans.

3 A safe passage be set out for the return to the state of more than 20, 000 Kukis that were ousted and driven into exile during the Khadawmi Operation 1967.

4 That the Kuki National Organisation be installed as the provisional government of the state, and a Kuki National Army regiment be established.

5 That the United Nations Organisation be involved in overseeing the total Plan and the detailed implementation of the above recommendations

I like to draw your kind attention to the Panglong Agreement of 1947 and its consequent negative effects on the ethnic peoples of Burma. Should matters be entrusted entirely to the National League for Democracy and the Military Junta, similar unfortunate developments that occurred as a result of the Panglong Agreement would be repeated. This happened because the British left the matter entirely at the hands of the Burmese, who acted without taking into consideration the views of the concerned population. This sort of situation needs to be prevented at any cost.

In conclusion, I like to reiterate that the history of the Kukis and their current predicament need to be taken into serious consideration in every negotiation and deliberation that the United Nations envisage to carry out with respect to a stable and democratic future of Burma.

Yours sincerely,

PS Haokip

President, Kuki National Organisation

Zale'n-gam

MANMASI

ZG/GEN 02-71/02 Manmasi Dated, 30th July 2004

The Hon'ble Prime Minister

Government of India

New Delhi

Dear Shri Manmohan Singh,

The Kuki National Organisation sends felicitations on your appointment as the prime minister of India. We look forward to your tenure in office with hope and anticipation to address the needs of the Kuki people.

Memoranda submitted to the previous governments have not yielded any concrete response. In 2003 Shri LK Advani, former Home Minster and the Home Secretary's formal assurances by letter to the Member of Parliament from the Outer constituency of Manipur, to hold talks with KNO was not followed through. Our keen anticipation was frustrated. Official level dialogue with representatives of Intelligence Bureau is appreciated, but they have their limitations in terms of progress that can be made. Dialogues now need to be upgraded to the political level.

At this juncture, on the eve of existing ceasefire expiry on 31 July 2004 signed between Government of India and Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland - Isak & Muivah, the Kuki National Organisation would like to iterate the following points:

a That GOI has stood its ground on not ceding to NSCN-IM's demand on Naga territorial integration, which directly affects Kuki territory, is appreciated (NSCN-IM are now sending out feelers to Kuki church organisations and other social organisations to resolve differences).

b KNO, along with Kuki social organisations, stands resolute on preserving Kuki territorial integrity;

c Kuki territory in Manipur include the districts of Churachandpur, Chandel, Sadar Hills (which is yet to be accorded a full-fledged district status) and Kuki lands that are presently in the districts of Ukhrul, Tamenglong and Senapati.

d NSCN-IM's design of territorial expansionism the prime motivation for Kuki genocide in the 1990s (leaving over nine hundred people, three hundred and fifty villages [350] uprooted from the districts Ukhrul, Tamenglong and Senapati and about fifty thousand people displaced), prompted the Kuki chiefs appeal* to Shri Ibobi Singh, chief minister of Manipur, to include their lands within the districts Churachandpur, Chandel and Sadar Hills;

e NSCN-IM, as well as Meitei militants from the Imphal valley's threat to Kuki people accentuates the need to expedite consolidation of and the securing of Kuki territory by way of according it statehood;

f Kukis do not lay claim to any Naga or Meitei territory. They only seek the integrity of their ancestral lands for which they stood up to the British imperialists during both World War I and World War II (please note that 'the Kuki rising, 1917-19' and the alliance with Indian National Army under Subhas Chandra Bose were occasioned by preservation of Kuki territorial integrity**

g. GOI have only held political dialogue with NSCN-IM (the people, the majority of whom the banned organisation claims to represent, being already content with the statehood accorded to Nagaland in 1963), while ignoring Kukis' gallant history and their repeated supplications for statehood.

In the prevailing circumstances the KNO is obliged to make an appeal for Government's response to hold political level dialogue for the creation of Kuki statehood. Should Government choose

to adopt the attitude of its predecessors that ignored the Kuki people and their aspirations, the KNO would reluctantly have to consider embarking upon a movement for self-determination outside of the Indian Union. This would mean that independent India has no accommodation for the Kuki people as it does for the Nagas.

Yours sincerely,

PS Haokip

President, Kuki National Organisation

Zale'n-gam

MANMASI

TO US 06-01 05

Manmasi Date: 2 Ma[illegible]

George W Bush

President

United States of America

Dear Mr Bush,

Your conscientious zeal to uplift the downtrodden among humanity and to genuinely defend the integrity of human dignity through democratic principles is a source of much inspiration. The courage you demonstrate, for example, concerning the humanitarian crisis in Dafur, has given me hope and confidence to appeal for your attention and intervention to alleviate the plight of the Kuki people in northeast India and northwest Burma.

India has the reputation of being the largest democracy in the world today. The United Nations Organisation is a champion of democratic rights for all citizens of the world. The Kuki people live in their ancestral land, which was brought under the British India and British Burma administrations. Prior to the annexation by the British the Kukis were never parts of India, Burma or any other entity. They were an independent people. Following the Kuki Rising of 1917-1919, the British imprisoned the prominent Kuki chiefs in Sadiya jail in Assam, and Taungyi jail in Burma, in post independent India and Burma, a lack of [illegible] the respective governments has failed to address the plights of the Kukis.

Records of human rights abuse by the Military Junta of Burma are well known, but abuse of Kuki people's rights may not be widely available. In India, the Kuki genocide between 1992 and

led by National Socialist Council of Nagaland Isak & Muivah (NSCN-IM) left over nine hundred people mostly women and children dead, three hundred and fifty villages uprooted particularly from the hill districts Ukhrul, Tamenglong and Senapati in Manipur state, and about fifty thousand people displaced Ironically, however, the Government of India is more concerned about talking to the NSCN-IM, perpetrators of crime against humanity, rather than to Kukis, the victims.

A few of the gruesome incidents carried out by the NSCN-IM are listed as follows (Please see enclosure 'NSCN-IM MASSACRE OF OVER 900 INNOCENT KUKI AND UPROOTING OF OVER 350 KUKI VILLAGES'):

i The Zoupi massacre of 13 September 1993, 90 Kuki men were mercilessly hacked to death with machetes. This day is marked as 'The Black Day' for Kukis.

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NSCN (IM) shifted their target upon innocent Kuk[illegible] appeared to be relieved. Subsequently, contrary to their pre[illegible] stance, GOI negotiated with NSCN-IM in 199[illegible] declared a bilateral ceasefire, invited the leadership for talks, appoin[illegible] various interlocutors and continue to hold talks with this terror[illegible] organisation, sometimes abroad and sometimes in India trying to please them. This is very difficult for Kuk[illegible] to bear when NSCN-IM have killed hundreds of my people, burnt [illegible] houses and chased us like wild animals According to National Socialist Council of Nagaland Khaplang (NSCN-K) too, the NSCN-IM are terrorists and has links with Al-Qaeda. By any stretch of the imagination the priority given by the Government of India to NSCN-IM seems highly irregular for a democratic nation. It appears that the Government is only willing to hold dialogue with organisations that indulge in grave atrocities. Even though numerous memoranda have been submitted to the heads of the Government of India (including the present prime minister Shri Manmohan Singh) and to the Military Junta of Burma, precious little has been done to address the needs of the Kukis For example, in 2003 during the NDA government, personally met with Shri ID Swamy, the State Minister for Home Affairs and explained the problem of the Kuk[illegible]s Perceiving my reconciliatory intentions, he promised that the Government would have talks with KNO at the Prime Minister's level When nothing was forthcoming regarding the promise, an enquiry was made through Holkhomang Haokip, Member of Parliament from the outer hill constituency of Manipur Mr H Haokip received a written reply shortly from Shri LK Advani, Home Minister and the Home Secretary stating that they would hold talks with KNO Despite the formal assurances, however, the Government did not keep their promise, and talks with KNO have never been held This is the nature of treatment Kukis get from the Government of India In 2004, NSCN (IM) Leaders came to New Delhi at the invitation of the Government. Hundreds of Kuki students in Delhi belonging to Kuki Students Organisation, held peaceful demonstrations

against Government of India (GOI) holding talks with the NSCN (IM) and their criminal leadership Isak and Muivah, who are responsible for the death of hundreds of Kukis. KSO questioned GOI's rationale for engaging in dialogue with NSCN (IM), the perpetrators of Kuki genocide, but not with Kukis, who are the landowners and the victims of genocide. The students displayed placards and banners calling for preservation of 'Kuki territorial integrity' and also showing photos of innocents Kuki women and children raped and killed by the Tangkhul-led NSCN (IM) and their supporters. Coffin rallies carried out by the student body in Delhi in December 2004 (Hindustan Times 8 December 2004) and February 2005 (Hindustan Times 2 February 2005) bore no response either; regardless, GOI continued to hold talks with NSCN-IM. The danger that lurks behind the talks is that NSCN-IM may con GOI into conceding Kuki ancestral land to become a part of Muivah's design of 'Greater Nagaland'. In such an eventuality GOI would be encouraging terrorism. They would also be sending a wrong signal that terrorist activities do gain attention in order to get what they want, rather than peaceful approaches, such as followed by the Kukis' thus far.

Given the nature of the ongoing dialogues between GOI and NSCN-IM and all the measures the former adopts to accommodate the latter provides ample evidence that Kukis are the neglected group. For instance, since colonialism came to pass in India, the Government created Nagaland state. In contrast, Kukis who defied colonialism to the very end of WWII for the sake of their territory along with the Indian National Army led by Subhas Chandra Bose but accepted citizenship of post-independent India and Burma in good faith, as yet have not been given statehood in either country. It seems that the Government's attention can only be gained by violent activities, such as the mass killings and deracination of the Kuki people by NSCN-IM. Should the Kukis be forced to resort to the same strategy in order to draw the Government's attention?

Notwithstanding the positive principles Kukis hold we (at last) they are in an abysmal state today. This is a result of total negligence by the governments of India and Burma. Through colonial deliberations the territories that our forefathers [illegible] hard to defend are now incorporated in different states and districts in India, and in different state and Division in northwest Burma. Following India's independence from Britain in 1947 by 1960s in efforts to seek proper redressal of their lot the Kuki National Assembly developed irredentist ideals. Reversal to the status quo of pre-British era promised a panacea to Kuki predicament. Proclamations of secession from India followed. However, a change in KNA's objectives necessitated striving instead for statehood within the Indian union. In post-independent Burma appeals for statehood in Burma also fell on deaf ears. Rather than initiate dialogue, the Military Junta adopted harsh measures to blot out Kukis from the map. The people have been deprived of their rights since General Ne Win took over the country in the 1962 coup-de-tat. The military junta launched the Khadawm operation against the Kukis in 1967. Over 20,000 people fled to the neighbouring country. As a part of the Military Junta's clandestine Burmanisation policy, thousands of ethnic Burmese people were settled in former Kuki villages. There were instances of Kuki Christian pastors being skinned alive and many villagers being imprisoned on false charges.

Consider investigation concerning the Kukis and the instantaneous reports normally provided would be uncomplimentary. Images largely based on the accounts written by British officials. British accounts have been biased because Kukis opposed colonialism from the outset, i.e. since 1777 at the time Warren Hastings was Governor General of India. In contrast, Nagas were mostly supporters of colonialism. After 1919, Kuki chiefs as landowners were not allowed to receive tax and tributes from the Tangkhuls and Kabui Nagas in Manipur. The NSCN-IM are now negotiating with GOI to include in 'Greater Nagaland', land that belongs to the Kuki chiefs. On what rationale does GOI engage in talks with

NSCN-IM regarding 'territorial integration' without also talking to Kukis, the landowners" Owing to suppression by colonialism, today, Kukis are underdogs, and consequently victims of atrocities committed by the dominant neighbours, be it in Assam and Nagaland in northeast India, or in northwest Burma. The dire predicament of the Kuki people is being taken advantage of in regard to talks concerning their future. This is unbecoming of a democratic Government. Nevertheless, Kuki's response to their circumstance is often attributed to their 'recalcitrant' disposition (another legacy of the colonialism), rather than as measures they are driven to in total desperation and exasperation. On the question of the ludicrous idea of 'Greater Nagaland', an illuminating news item was printed recently in the Imphal Free Press:

Dimapur May 22 In what is seen as a major blow to the NSCN (IM), its MIP Kilonser (Minister), AZ Jami, who had also served the faction as Kilo Kilonser (Deputy Prime Minister) and Executive Secretary of the Steering Committee, defected to rival NSCN (K) faction on May 20

Jami's comment with regard to integration:

When we talk about Naga integration, we must remember that unless the people concerned prepare themselves for it, no individual or organization can do that by force," he said while also observing that political solution of the Nagas of Manipur could not be negotiated by the Nagas of Nagaland and vice versa as that would be a cardinal error

Dr Kofi Anan, in view of your commitment to democracy and will to firmly oppose terrorism wherever it raises its ugly head, I, president of KNO, like to appeal to your fair judgment concerning the Kuki people and your support to alleviate their plight As indicated above, direct appeals to the Government of India and

the Military Junta of Burma have neither generated confidence nor inspiration for us to follow entirely the same avenues spurred by NSCN-IM's drive for 'Greater Nagaland', which [illegible] to a vast stretch of Kuki territory, and the need for peace, stability and security for the Kuki people, KNO was formed in 1988. The organisation has an armed wing to defend the Kuki [illegible] from the threat of NSCN-IM, and to prevent the designs of the Meitei militants of Manipur to forcibly settle in Kuki areas of Chandel and Churachandpur districts in the state. The objectives of KNO are not anti-India or anti-Burma. They are reconciliatory and respect the historical rights of their immediate neighbours Nagas and Meiteis in India, and Nagas, Kachins and Shans in Burma. With regard to the independent countries India and Burma, KNO imbued with a sense of irredentism, but also exercising appreciation of the existing circumstance, espouse the ideology of Zale'n-gam, a term used to refer to Kuki ancestral land and nation. Concomitant to the ideology, the two strands of KNO's objectives are:

a) The historicity of Zale'n-gam's sovereignty be recognised

b) The land that the British divided between India and Burma be accorded Kuki statehood, one in each of the two independent countries.

Dr Kofi Anan, your kind intervention to initiate dialogues between the Kuki National Organisation and Government of India, and also with the Military Junta of Burma, would be much appreciated. Purposeful discourses to create statehood for Kukis, one in India and another in Burma, are vital Given Kuki people's misery and the turmoil they have been in especially for the last half century necessitates creation of statehood in the two countries Statehood in the each of the two countries would help to redress the grievances and the deprivation suffered for so many years. This will also ensure the people's proper confidence and integration within the two nations, India and Burma, and provide the much

needed-guarantee to secure their identity and their future material development.

The Kuki people, who are one of the least known on the face of the earth, in sheer desperation is soliciting the help of the Secretary-General of the United Nations Organisation. Please do not regard the Kukis too small a community to be seriously considered. The Kukis face continued apathy and neglect from the Government of India and the Military Junta of Burma. They remain insecure because of lingering threats from the NSCN-IM and Meitei militants of Manipur. Protection from the Governments concerned by way of according statehood and the measures that comes with the status is the only means of securing the fate of the Kukis. Our people will always cherish your timely intervention in their present predicament.

Yours faithfully,

PS Haokip

President, Kuki National Organisation

Zale'n-gam

MANMASI

ZG/GEN No. 02-672/06 Manmasi Dated, 6 December 2 [illegible]

Mrs Sonia Gandhi

President, AICC

24, Akbar Road

New Delhi - 110001

Dear Mrs Gandhi,

The Kuki National Organisation would like to draw your kind attention to the plight of the Kuki people, which began during British colonialism and continued to worsen in post-independent India for certain reasons. The main factors contributing to our people's state of affairs are: a) refusal of the Meitei people dominated state government of Manipur to endorse the constitutional provisions of Sixth-Schedule to the hill areas while creating hill districts in favour of the Nagas, b) delay of over 20 years in according Sadar Hills a full-fledged district status in Kuki dominated areas. As a result, the Kukis remain the poorest of the poor in the state.

The dire situation caused by the Meiteis in turn has prompted the hostile Nagas of Manipur to carry out their evil designs upon the Kukis. Therefore, from 1950 to 1980, they systematically eliminated 36 Kuki leaders and uprooted 64 villages (please see enclosed copy of memorandum submitted to Government of Manipur by Kuki Leaders Consultative Committee in 1987). From 1992-1997 NSCN (IM)-led Nagas carried out Kuki genocide. The casualty of NSCN (IM)-led Kuki genocide is 900 people killed, over 350 villages uprooted and more than 50,000 souls rendered refugees.

Latterly, Meitei militants of Manipur have planted landmines in Kuki areas and carried out offensives on the Indian army from their bases in Burma. As a result, Kukis have become victims of

landmine explosions, and of Indian army retaliations to militants' activities in Kuki areas. In this manner the twin objectives of the militants are fulfilled. Victims of landmines planted in Kuki areas by Meitei militants have totaled 26; the latest victim is Nengneikim, a 16 year old girl 'killed after stepping on a landmine planted near her village of Aibol Jamkhomang within Chakpikarong Sub-division of Chandel district on December 1, according to a delayed report' (Imphal Free Press, 5 Dec 2006).

The atrocities against Kukis committed by NSCN (IM) and Meitei militants, and the attitude of the state government dominated by Meitei people are motivated by a common factor, i.e. ownership of land. Although the Manipur Nagas have uprooted more than 64 Kuki villages, in the present-day state of Manipur, Kukis own more than half of the entire territory for which the chieftains possess legal land deeds or Pattas. It is clearly evident that both adversaries belonging to the Meitei and Naga communities in Manipur want to deprive the Kukis of their ancestral lands. For example, T Muivah, general secretary of NSCN (IM)'s territorial claims that directly affect Kuki lands to constitute a part of 'Nagalim', and besides the landmine issue, the political map of the Meitei militants that encompass all of Kuki lands as part of Kangleipak (Manipur). The situation is of course exacerbated by the brazen state government's denial of Constitutional rights, such as regards Sadar Hills and the Sixth-Schedule.

Kuki Chiefs, whose villages are presently in Naga dominated districts of Ukhrul, Sanapati and Tamenglong submitted a memorandum to Ibobi Singh, chief minister of Manipur, asking their lands to be included within the Kuki dominated districts of Chandel, Churachandpur and the Sadar Hills (copy enclosed).

Madam, KNO would like to seek the sympathy of the Indian National Congress Party, under your leadership, to address the predicament of the Kuki people. In the existing situation, statehood is the way to secure Kuki territory and create conditions that are conducive for proper development for the people. The

circumstances surrounding the Kukis also show that the overriding reason for Kuki statehood is security, without which an environment for political stability and effective administration cannot exist.

In the past decade, numerous memorandums have been submitted by the Kuki National Organisation to various prime ministers of India asking for help to alleviate our people's dire condition, but till date, there has not been any response. Paradoxically, rather than address the case of the victims by responding to KNO's overtures for talks with the centre, initiated by the Government of India in 1997, political dialogue with NSCN (IM) – the perpetrators of genocide, has been continued till today.

Unable to secure adequate protection from the Indian army during NSCN (IM)'s onslaught, mainly because of the nature of terrain and remote dwellings of our people, KNO raised armed cadres for self-defence. However, wielding arms has not compromised the organisation's stand to entrust our people's fate to the Government of India despite their lack of response or initiative. KNO remains steadfast in finding an amicable solution to the Kuki issue within the framework of the Constitution of India.

Based on faith in GOI, KNO signed a ceasefire with the Indian army on 10 August 2005. The document was signed by DGMO and the president of KNO in the office of DGMI at South Block, New Delhi. In the entire history of KNO, the armed cadres have never had reason to engage in encounters with the Indian army. This is because KNO have sought to resolve the Kuki issue within the framework of the Constitution of India. This stand was unequivocally expressed in the CNN-IBN's 'India's Hidden Wars' featured on national television in October 2006 (please see www.ibnlive.com 'Kuki outfit demands statehood' – VK Shashi Kumar, CNN-IBN, 8 Oct 2006). Therefore, the ceasefire to us was only a formality; its real purpose, as DGMI said, was to initiate and facilitate a process of political dialogue between GOI and

KNO within six months of signing the document. We have been left utterly disappointed on this count, too.

The predicament of the Kuki people is summed up as follows
a)the British colonised the Kukis;

b)the NSCN (IM)-led Nagas want our lands and so engage in genocide;

c)As the Meiteis also want Kuki lands, the militants plant landmines and ambush the Indian army in Kuki areas - our people become victims of the landmine explosions and also suffer the brunt of the army's retaliation;

d)GOI ignores the Kuki question; does not respond to memoranda submitted.

e)last, but not least, the Indian army's assurance to take KNO to the negotiating table to discuss the fate of the Kuki people with GOI has not materialised.

KNO's political aspiration for Kuki statehood is Constitutional. KNO is also aware that with regard to the UPA's Common Minimum Programme, which stands for existing state boundaries not being redrawn, the matter is essentially weighed by the concerns over the issue of Gorkhaland in relation to West Bengal. An uncompromising or unaccommodating position towards KNO's aspiration owing to this aspect of UPA's CMP would tantamount to perpetuating the grim predicament of the Kuki people. Please note that the Kukis are sandwiched by the pressures mounted by the designs of NSCN (IM) and Meitei militants and the lack of the state government's goodwill. Therefore, the status quo of present-day state of Manipur is untenable for the survival of the Kuki people. The Kukis need a solution completely independent of the Naga or Meitei peoples'.

KNO have recently resolved that should the political aspirations of the Kukis to secure their culture, identity and preserve the territorial integrity of their ancestral lands by way of GOI granting

Kuki statehood be denied, the organisation will have to consider changing the current stand of seeking solution within the framework of the Constitution of India and pursuing the people's right to restore Zale'n-gam, the Kuki nation, to its former independent status, which for the first time was taken away by the British colonialists.

As stated in the KNO website www.kukinat.com under MANIFESTO, in the concluding paragraph

Fulfillment of the rights of the Kuki people for self-determination in this respect within a reasonable time frame will ensure our goodwill to endure. The KNO shall be duty-bound to consider alternatives to our present approach if the governments' apathy and negligence persist concerning Kuki aspirations.

The British colonialists may have divisively categorised our people as 'Old Kuki' and 'New Kuki', but as one ethnic entity with a common past, culture, customs and dialects that are mutually intelligible, more than half the total territory of present day Manipur legally belong to the Kukis.

The divisive effects of the British are manifold. However there is a gradual reversal, particularly following the ceasefire signed between KNO and the Indian army in August 2005. As a result, today, virtually every Kuki clan's armed organisation has joined the KNO fold comprising a total of eight groups. This new development is enhanced by KNO's objectives that include statehood, which provides a much needed sense of hope for better prospects among the Kuki people. Madam, KNO have expressed their objective for statehood, which is not anti-nat onal, but positively in keeping with the Indian Constitution. I therefore urge you to regard the goodwill of the Kuki people and their sincere desire to be included as an integral part of India. You may be personally aware that of the numerous ethnic-based movements in the Northeast recently shown on CNN-IBN, Kukis are the only

people who have declared they want to 'be Indian'. In this connection, kindly consider the rational and legitimate appeal for statehood comprising Kuki ancestral lands for which the Kuki chieftains posses legal land deeds or Pattas

I trust that KNO's stand with regard to seeking a solution for the Kuki people within the framework of the Constitution will be sympathetically viewed by the Indian National Congress Party, under your discerning and compassionate leadership

Yours sincerely,

PS Haokip

President, Kuki National Organisation

Zale'n-gam

MANMASI

ZG/UNO 07-01/95

Manmasi Dated, 21 May 2005

Dr Kofi Anan

Secretary-General

United Nations Organisation

Dear Dr Kofi Anan,

Your conscientious zeal to uplift the downtrodden among humanity and to genuinely defend the integrity of human dignity through democratic principles is a source of much inspiration. The courage you demonstrate, for example concerning the humanitarian crisis in Dafur, has given me hope and confidence to appeal for your attention and intervention to alleviate the plight of the Kuki people in northeast India and northwest Burma.

India has the reputation of being the largest democracy in the world today. The United Nations Organisation is a champion of democratic rights for all citizens of the world. The Kuki people live in their ancestral land, which was brought under the British India and British Burma administrations. Prior to the arrival of the British the Kukis were never parts of India, Burma or any other entity. They were an independent people. Following the Kuki Rising of 1917-1919, the British imprisoned the prominent Kuki chiefs in Sadiya jail in Assam, and Taungy jail in Burma. In post independent India and Burma, a lack of initiative from the respective governments has failed to address the plight of the Kukis.

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When we talk about Naga integration, we must remember that unless the people concerned prepare themselves for it, no individual or organization can do that by force," he said while also observing that political solution of the Nagas of Manipur could not be negotiated by the Nagas of Nagaland and vice versa as that would be a cardinal error

Dr Kofi Anan, in view of your commitment to democracy and will to firmly oppose terrorism wherever it raises its ugly head, I, president of KNO, like to appeal to your fair judgment concerning the Kuki people and your support to alleviate their plight. As indicated above, direct appeals to the Government of India and the Military Junta of Burma have neither generated confidence nor inspiration for us to follow entirely the same avenues. Spurred

by NSCN-IM's drive for 'Greater Nagaland' which restricts [illegible] to a vast stretch of Kuki territory, and the need for [illegible] and security for the Kuki people, KNO was formed [illegible] organisation has an armed wing to defend the Kukis from the threat of NSCN-IM, and to prevent the designs of the Meitei militants of Manipur to forcibly settle in Kuki areas of Churachandpur districts in the state. The objectives of KNO are not anti-India or anti-Burma. They are recognised and respect the historical rights of their immediate neighbours Nagas and Meiteis in India, and Nagas, Kachins and Shans in Burma. With regard to the independent countries India and Burma KNO imbued with a sense of irredentism, but also exercising appreciation of the existing circumstance espouse the ideology of Zale`n-gam, a term used to refer to Kuki ancestral land and nation. Concomitant to the ideology, the two strands of KNO objectives are:

a) The historicity of Zale`n-gam's sovereignty be recognised

b) The land that the British divided between India and Burma be accorded Kuki statehood, one in each of the two independent countries.

Dr Kofi Anan, your kind intervention to initiate dialogues between the Kuki National Organisation and Government of India, and also with the Military Junta of Burma, would be much appreciated. Purposeful discourses to create statehood for Kukis, one in India and another in Burma, are vital. Given Kuki people's history and the turmoil they have been in especially for the last half-century necessitates creation of statehood in the two countries. Statehood in the each of the two countries would help to redress their grievances and the deprivation suffered for so many years. This will also ensure the people's proper confidence and integration within the two nations, India and Burma, and provide the much needed-guarantee to secure their identity and their future material development.

The Kuki people, who are one of the least known on the face of the earth, in sheer desperation is soliciting the help of the Secretary-General of the United Nations Organisation. Please do not regard the Kukis too small a community to be seriously considered. The Kukis face continued apathy and neglect from the Government of India and the Military Junta of Burma. They remain insecure because of lingering threats from the NSCN-IM and Meitei militants of Manipur. Protection from the Governments concerned by way of according statehood and the measures that comes with the status is the only means of securing the fate of the Kukis. Our people will always cherish your timely intervention in their present predicament.

Yours faithfully,

PS Haokip

President, Kuki National Organisation

Zale'n-gam

MANMASI

ZG/GEN 02-671/06 Camp Geneva, 9 August 2006

The Hon'ble Prime Minister

Government of India

New Delhi

Dear Shri Manmohan Singh,

Please refer to a previous memorandum submitted to you dated 30 July 2004 by Kuki National Organisation. Two years later today, KNO is pleased that there is an opportunity to write to you again, this time from Geneva.

A KNO delegation is presently at Geneva to sign a Deed of Commitment to ban landmines, which is spearheaded by Geneva Call. KNO's participation in this venture should reflect the organisations' resolve to achieve the political objectives of the Kuki people within the framework of the Constitution of India.

The Kukis are an ethnic group, whom the British divided into 'Old Kuki' and 'New Kuki'. In Manipur they own more than half the total area of land for which their chiefs possess legal land deeds called Patta. Kuki territory in Manipur include the districts of Churachandpur, Chandel, Sadar Hills (which is yet to be accorded a full-fledged district status) and Kuki lands that are presently in the districts of Ukhrul, Tamenglong and Senapati. KNO proposes these areas to constitute Kuki statehood in Northeast India.

Memoranda submitted to the previous governments have not yielded any concrete response to date. In 2003 Shri LK Advani former Home Minister and the Home Secretary's formal assurances by letter to the Member of Parliament from the Outer constituency of Manipur, to hold talks with KNO was not followed through. Our keen anticipation was frustrated. Official level dialogue with

representatives of Intelligence Bureau has been appreciated, but their limitation in terms of progress that can be made is apparent Dialogues now need to be upgraded to the political level

In connection with the Government of India and Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland – Isak & Muivah talks, the Kuki National Organisation would like to iterate the following points:

a) That GOI has stood its ground on not ceding to NSCN-IM's demand on Naga territorial integration, which directly affects Kuki territory, is appreciated (NSCN-IM are now sending out feelers to Kuki church organisations and other social organisations to resolve differences);

b) KNO, along with Kuki social organisations, stands resolute on preserving Kuki territorial integrity;

c) Kuki territory in Manipur include the districts Churachandpur, Chandel, Sadar Hills (which is yet to be accorded a full-fledged district status) and Kuki lands that are presently in the districts of Ukhrul, Tamenglong and Senapati;

d) NSCN-IM's design of territorial expansionism, the prime motivation for Kuki genocide in the 1990s (killing over nine hundred people, three hundred and fifty villages (350) uprooted from the districts Ukhrul, Tamenglong and Senapati, and about fifty thousand people displaced), prompted the Kuki chiefs' appeal* to Shri Ibobi Singh, chief minister of Manipur, to include their lands within the districts Churachandpur, Chandel and Sadar Hills.

e) NSCN-IM, as well as Meitei militants from the Imphal valley's threat to Kuki people accentuates the need to expedite consolidation of and the securing of Kuki territory by way of according it statehood;

f) Kukis do not lay claim to any Naga or Meitei territory; they only seek the integrity of their ancestral lands for which they stood up to the British imperialists during both World War I and World

War II (please note that 'the Kuki rising, 1917-19[illegible] the alliance with Indian National Army under Subhas [illegible] Bose took place to preserve Kuki territorial integrity)

g) GOI have only held political dialogue with NSCN-IM [illegible] people, the majority of whom the banned organisation [illegible] represent, being already content with the statehood accorded [illegible] Nagaland in 1963), while ignoring Kukis' gallant history and [illegible] repeated supplications for statehood

The Kuki National Organisation signed a Suspension of Operations with the Indian army in August 2005 which was renewed in June 2006. KNO seeks to resolve the future of the Kuki people within the framework of the Constitution of India. KNO's armed cadres are Kuki National Army, Kuki National Front (Military Council), Kuki National Front (Zogam), United Kuki Liberation Revolutionary Army, Zou Defence Volunteers, Zomi Revolutionary Front, United Kom Rem Revolutionary Army and Hmar National Army. This demonstration of unity which divide the entire ethnic Kuki clans in Manipur needs to be taken serious and capitalised upon to achieve a solution for the Kuki people in Zale'n-gam, on which the ideology of KNO is based. Statehood is sought for the Kuki people comprising their ancestral lands in present-day Manipur

In the prevailing circumstances the KNO is obliged to make an appeal for Government's response to hold political level discussions for the creation of Kuki statehood. To date, despite the assurances of the Military Intelligence at South Block in August 2005, political dialogue between GOI and KNO has not begun. This is not only embarrassing for KNO, but more important and also regrettably it conveys the Government's lack of empathy towards the Kuki people. The wounds inflicted by NSCN-IM from 1992-1997 are still fresh in our people's minds, and now the aggression of Meitei militants make us increasingly vulnerable. If the present Government should also prefer to adopt the attitude of its predecessors that ignored the Kuki people, the KNO would be

forced to abandon its resolve to find a political solution within the framework of the Constitution of India and consider alternative means of gaining self-determination. This recourse would indicate the utterly desperate state of the Kukis to which Government failed to respond.

Yours sincerely,

PS Haokip

President, Kuki National Organisation

Zale'n-gam,

MANMASI

ZG/GEN No. 01-16/95 Manmasi Dated 7th August '95

To,

Senior General Than Shwe

Chairman,

State Law & Order Restoration Council (SLORC),

The Union of Burma (Myanmar)

Dear Pu Than Shaw,

The Kukis in present-day Burma (Myanmar) are [illegible] predominantly in the Kale Kabow valley, west of the Chindwin River. Kuki settlements are also scattered in the Somra Tract north of Nantaleik River and also in the Chin Hills south of Manipur river (Myitta river). The Kukis are also linguistically and culturally very close to the Kachins in the northern territories.

Till the recent past when the Military Government entered into cease-fire agreement upon the Kachin Independent Organisation (KIO)/ Kachin Independent Warriors (KIA), we had been working together with the Kachins. The Chins and the Kukis share the common predicament of being divided, scattered between two countries - India and Burma (Myanmar). We are however for the time being reconciled to live in peace and to work for progress in whichever country we have found ourselves in. However due to the harassment and discrimination by the MILITARY Government of Burma (Myanmar), we are beginning to realise that peace and progress is not possible for the Kukis in Burma (Myanmar) unless the Rangoon Government changes its attitude. Till now we have managed to persuade our people to assert themselves only through peaceful and non-violent means. This peaceful non-violent approach of ours should, however not be

misread as a sign of weakness. Resorting to arms in order to safeguard our right to livelihood and right to self-determination is always an open option for us. We respect the cease-fire agreement with the KIO KIA and also, as close allies with the Kachins, we have unilaterally refrained ourselves from the use of firearms However, the Rangoon Government refuses to understand our point of view and seem to be bent upon treating the Kukis as non-citizens of Burma (Myanmar).

In 1967, under U Muang Maung's & 'Khadawami Operation' the Government of Revolutionary Council headed by General Newin, displaced 20,000 Kukis in the Kabow valley under the excuse that they were holding bogus "National Registration and family registration cards" From 1980s there have been deliberate attempts at displacing the Kukis and populating the Kabow valley with other ethnic Burmese tribes. The settlements of Ongchija, Tanan, Myothit, Nanaungow, Mantong and Ywatha, which were deliberately set up by the Military Government in the Kabow Valley are existing examples of discrimination against the Kukis. We do not have objection to live with them peacefully but only as long as there is an equitable approach at the Government policy levels Till now the Military Government has given us a step-motherly treatment. Since 1990 the SLORC Government has been extracting forced-labor from the Kukis in the Kabow Valley. The Army has dispossessed many Kuki villages of their land. A glaring example of this is at Watsu in 1992 under the direct supervision of the General Secretary II Gen. Tin O himself. In the beginning of 1993 Nungkam, a Kuki village was burnt and bulldozed and in its place a new military settlement, Saya San Ywo, was set up. The ostensible reason for this was that the Kukis refuse to convert to Buddhism The village Church was burnt down. There are many other instances, which are glaring examples of SLORC's discrimination against the Kukis in Burma (Myanmar). The student community Kuki Students Democratic Front, Burma (KSDF) has submitted a representation highlighting Human Rights violation by SLORC against ethnic Nationalities (1993-

94) in Burma (Myanmar)- Apart from mentioning forced labor and forceful occupation of village lands by the warriors, they highlighted one incident at Phailen, a Kuki village in the Kabow Valley It appears that one soldier from the 89 battalion of Burmese warriors deserted his camp based in Phailen village with a few rifles and ammunition. Subsequently, a Burmese warrior platoon stormed into the village killed four people and arrested two of others (all are consisting of Kuki religious leaders of Phailen Baptist Church). A ransom of 200,000 Kyats was demanded for their release. U Mangpu (45) The Chairman of village Law and Order Restoration Council; Rev Yangkho et (48) the Pastor of Phailen Baptist Church; U Thangkhai (28) and L Haupu (25) were brutally tortured to death, during the first week of August 1993. U Maungpu's house was demolished and his cows and domestic pets were used as ration for the platoon His wife has been imprisoned in Monywa jail since then. (This news was broadcast by BBC Burmese section on 11 08 93) All these incidents of harassment, torture and discrimination by the Military Government have been a matter of deep concern for us We are surprised and shocked, mainly because we have never raised the banner of rebellion against independent Burma like the other ethnic groups, such as the Chins, the Kachins, Karens, etc. Even then we have been continuously treated as anti-nationals The only reason for this seems to be that we are not Buddhists but Christians in general. In this regard Myanmar has at no time declared itself as a theocratic Buddhist State Buddhism, as we know it, is a non-violent all-encompassing religion and in this context, the actions of the military-regime are paradoxical As per our understanding, Myanmar is supposed to be a democratic and peace-loving country where all ethnic groups may live in harmony, professing any religion of their choice. If this is a mistaken notion on our part, then we do not wish to have any part in it! That the present Rangoon Government has no consistent policy in government or administration is also quite clear from the fact that it has recently provided a jungle base to the Indian

insurgent group, namely the NSCN (IM) of Th Muivah. It is on record that this base has been provided at Gilgal in the Somra Tract

The NSCN (IM) group consists of the Tangkhul Tribe from the East District of Manipur in India There is not a single Tangkhul village in Myanmar The NSCN (IM) is well known for its narrow, communal policies and particularly its ethnic war against the Kuki tribes It is also known for its cowardly attacks upon women, children and unarmed villagers. In this context, the newfound "Chummy" association between the Rangoon Government and this outcast band is difficult to understand, unless of course it is meant for mischievous ulterior motives. The government may be well advised to end this relationship forthwith. It does not bode well for the future of Burma (Myanmar) with its complex inter-tribal relationships

It is on record that in 1752 A. D the Chins and the Kukis were among the royal warriors of the King U Aung Zaya when he fought the Assam and Manipur Kings Till today, the ruins and remnants of ancient Kuki villages are found in the Kale-Kabow Valley. In the Kuki rising 1917-1919 which is well chronicled in many contemporaneous British records, the Kukis fought bravely and fiercely to preserve the freedom and sovereignty in their Zale'n-gam Zale'n-gam was the land where the Kukis has complete freedom and sovereignty till 1919, when after the war of independence the British suppressed it. Zale'n-gam then extended from the Chindwin River in the East till the North Cachar Hills of Assam in India

After 1919 many of the Kuki Chiefs and leaders of the war were imprisoned at Taunggyi jail as under:

Sl. No.	Name	Imprisoned for:
1	Kamjadem (Kamjahen Haokip, Chief of Phailengjang I)	3 Years
2.	Tongkwalun (Tongkholun Haokip, Chief of Phailengjang II)	3 Years

3	Letkwatang (Letkhothang, Chief of Khotuh)	
4	Semkwalun (Semkholun Haokip, Chief of Phaisat)	3 Yea
5	Zahlun (Jalhun Haokip, Chief of Molvom)	3 Yea
6	Shuku (Tukih Lupheng, Chief of Tonghang)	
7.	Vumnul (Vumngul Kipgen, Chief of Tujang	
8	Haokwapao (Holkhopao Kipgen, Chief of [illegible]	Year
9.	Notzang (Nohjang Kipgen, Chief of Saisem)	
10.	Ngulkolun (Ngulkholun)	

This war was not only a war for the preservation of Zale'n-gam's sovereignty but it was also a war against British [illegible] During the Second World War the Kukis continued to fight against colonial imperialism and for the attainment of Burma's freedom from colonial yoke cannot be underestimated The Kukis took active part in the war efforts of Subhas Chandra Bose and his Indian National Warriors (INA) with headquarters at Rangoon. Both India and Burma were under the same British Administration like us at that time. The Kukis had active participated in the freedom struggle against the British colonial power with the hope that they would back the sovereignty of Zale'n-gam. The Kuki Nation. Subash Chandra Bose in fact promised [illegible] However, unfortunately, for us, with the victory of the Allied powers, we again saw our hopes and aspirations crushed in the post-colonial period we found ourselves dismembered and scattered into two countries - half in Burma and half in India

However, since after the Second World War we had never taken up arms or raised the banner of revolt against either India or Burma, even while other ethnic groups in both the countries have been continually raising their voices of dissent. An autonomous enclave for the Kukis is warranted a hundred times over both in India as well as in Burma but such a concept has been elsewhere both the countries.

In Burma, sometime during 1947, at the time of reorganisation of

an independent Burma, a Committee was formed for formation of a Kuki State Sagaing Central Division. Somkhothong and Ngamjang represented the Kukis in the Committee along with Josocho and Tobee from the Somra tribes. Due to conflicting views between the two tribes, the Committee could not conclude and the matter remained pending. (It is ironical that the Somra Tract has been granted an Autonomous Region in 1996 whereas the Kuki areas of Kale-Kabow Valley still remain as an unadministered area, or just an appendix of Sagaing Division. Again in 1949 the proposal to amalgamate the Kuki areas of Sagaing Division with Chin Hill fell through as the Kukis insisted in their demand for a separate autonomous State. The Kuki aspiration for an autonomous enclave still stands and it is not too late for the Burmese Government to examine the Kuki demands, and to understand the hopes and aspirations of the people in Kale-Kabow Valley. In the final analysis, it is the Kukis' demand that the Rangoon Government should remind itself of its commitment to democratic principals, its commitment of non-discrimination against ethnic communities in the country; and for the provision of justice and rule of law throughout the land. It is also our demand that the Kale-Kabow Valley of eastern Zale'n-gam be declared an autonomous State for the Kukis to administer by themselves and to seek their own self-development. We are together in this demand with all our Myanmarese brothers.

Yours sincerely,

PS Haokip

President, Kuki National Organisation

Zale'n-gam

MANMASI

ZG/GEN No. 02-672/06

Camp Geneva, 9 August 2006

Senior Gen Than Shwe

Chairman

State Peace and Development Council

Burma

Dear Gen Than Shwe,

Please refer to a previous memorandum (ZG GEN No 01-16 95 Zale'n-gam, 7 August 1996) submitted to you by Kuki National Organisation. Ten years later, today, KNO is pleased that there is an opportunity to write to you again, this time from Geneva.

A KNO delegation is presently at Geneva to sign a Deed of Commitment to ban landmines, which is spearheaded by Geneva Call. KNO's participation in this venture should sign fy the organisations' positive and reconciliatory stand regarding its political objectives in Burma. As a demonstration of this fact from 1999 KNO's cadres ceased to carry out offens ves against the Burma army despite there being no formal ceasefire agreement with the Government.

With regard to the history of the Kuki people, perusal of the memorandum indicated above will inform the relevant features However, certain salient aspects are included in this memorandum for your reference.

Culture and History:

Traditionally, Kuki form of governance is based on Haosa ki va. po (Chieftainship). The government is comprised of a two-tiered system (bicameral): a) Upa Innpi or Bulpite Vaipohna (Upper House) and b) Haosa Innpi or Kho Haosa Vaipohna (Lower House). Semang and Pachong (council of ministers and auxiliary members) aid the chief in the day-to-day administration. Cha nglon (Assistant), Lhangsam (Town crier), Thempu (High Priest and

Judge), Lawm Upa (Minister of Youth & Cultural Affairs), Thihpu (Village Blacksmith) include the essential elements of a Kuki community

In the aftermath of the 'Kuki rising, 1917-1919' (OIOC) the British colonialists divided Kuki ancestral lands between British India and British Burma Kuki ancestral land in Burma begins from the river Chindwin, stretching to the west bordering India, in the north, up to the river Nantalit and its surrounding regions, and to the south, the region up to the northern border of Chin State.

Following Burma's independence from Britain in 1948, the Kukis were reconciled to being an integral part of the country. However, general neglect of the people by the Government prompted KNO's armed cadre, Kuki National Army to carry out offensives against the Burmese army. These activities have now ceased completely in view of KNO's decision to pursue through peaceful means a solution to the Kuki problem in Burma In this connection, some of the grievances faced by the people are being highlighted fro your appraisal.

In 1967, under U Muang Maung's "Khadawami Operation" the Government of Revolutionary Council headed by General Newin, displaced 20,000 Kukis in the Kabow valley under the excuse that they were holding bogus "National Registration and family registration cards"

From 1980s there have been deliberate attempts at displacing the Kukis and populating the Kabow valley with other ethnic Burmese tribes The settlements of Ongchija, Tanan, Myothit, Nanaungow, Mantong and Ywatha, which were deliberately set up by the Military Government in the Kabow Valley are existing examples of discrimination against the Kukis. We do not have objection to live with them peacefully but only as long as there is an equitable approach at the Government policy levels. Till now the Military Government has given us a step-motherly treatment.

Since 1990 the SLORC Government have been extracting forced-

labor from the Kukis in the Kabow Valley The Army has dispossessed many Kuki villages of their lands. A glaring example of this is at Watsu in 1992 under the direct supervision of the General Secretary II Gen Tin O

In the beginning of 1993 Nungkam, a Kuki village was burnt and bulldozed and in its place a new military settlement, Saya San Ywo, was set up. The ostensible reason for this was that the Kukis refuse to convert to Buddhism The village Church was burnt down. There are many other instances, which are glaring examples of SLORC's discrimination against the Kukis in Burma (Myanmar).

The student community Kuki Students Democratic Front, Burma (KSDF) has submitted a representation highlighting Human Rights violation by SLORC against ethnic Nationalities (1993-94) in Burma (Myanmar). Apart from mentioning forced labour and forceful occupation of village lands by the warriors they highlighted one incident at Phailen, a Kuki village in the kabow Valley. It appears that one soldier from the 89 battalion of Burmese warriors deserted his camp based in Phailen village with a few rifles and ammunition Subsequently, a Burmese platoon stormed into the village, killed four people and arrested twelve others all are consisting of Kuki religious leaders of Phailen Baptist Church A ransom of 200,000 Kyats was demanded for their release U Mangpu (45), Chairman of village. Law and Order Restoration Council; Rev. Yangkholet (48), the Pastor of Phailen Baptist Church; U Thangkhai (28) and U Haopu (25) were brutally tortured to death, during the first week of August 1993 U Maungpu's house was demolished and his cows and domestic pets were used as ration for the platoon His wife has been imprisoned in Monywa jail since then This news was broadcast by BBC Burmese section on11.08 93.

All these incidents of harassment, torture and discrimination by the Military Government have been a matter of deep concern for us. We are surprised and shocked, mainly because we have never

raised the banner of rebellion against independent Burma like the other ethnic groups, such as the Chins, the Kachins, Karens, etc. Even then we have been continuously treated as anti-nationals. The only reason for this seems to be that we are not Buddhists but Christians in general. In this regard Myanmar has at no time declared itself as a theocratic Buddhist State. Buddhism, as we know it, is a non-violent all-encompassing religion and in this context, the actions of the military-regime are paradoxical. As per our understanding, Myanmar is supposed to be a democratic and peace-loving country where all ethnic groups may live in harmony, professing any religion of their choice.

In this memorandum, KNO would like to draw your attention to the following issues concerning the Kuki people in Burma.

i) Safeguarding the territorial integrity of Kuki lands and preservation of their identity by the Government of Burma is imperative. To the Kuki people this issue is more important than the political status of Burma, i.e. military state or democracy.

ii) Kukis want to be fully integrated within the Union of Burma. To achieve this objective, KNO wants the Government to accord statehood to Kuki ancestral lands.

iii) The proposal for Kuki statehood includes their ancestral lands starting from the river Chindwin towards the west bordering India; in the north, up to the river Nantalit and its surrounding regions; and to the south, the region stretching to the northern border of Chin State

iv) Statehood would allay the fear that the Government might plan to inhabit ethnic Burmese transplanted from other regions of Burma and settle them on Kuki lands with a view to rendering them a minority in their own territory. For example, in 2004 as well, a new Burmese village, Yan Nyang Aung was established between Lallim and Panda Kuki villages

v) Prevent Meitei militants from Manipur in India to use Kuki

lands in Burma to carry out activities against the Kuki people, as well as the Indian army across the international border. For example, in a recent Manipur People's Army (conglomeration of Meitei militant groups) attack on the Assam Rifles out-post at a Kuki village, Chavangphai, Ward 7 Moreh, near the Indo-Burma border, four local civilians, including two women suffered severe injuries (20 July 2006, Imphal Free Press). A house at S Morjon an adjacent village was also hit by a 60 mm bomb, injuring two people. The BBC http://www.bbc.co.uk/burmese also reported that on the Burmese side of the border, two Kuki villages Valpabung and Namphalong, were affected when Assam Rifles retaliated. The injured village folks were refused immediate medical attention at the hospital at Tamu, a town in Kaboy valley because the Burmese police reported the casualties were not caused by the crossfire that occurred the previous night.

KNO believes that it would not be presumptuous to state that fulfilment of their aspirations would contribute to peace and stability of the nation. I urge the Government to institute Kuki statehood at the earliest possible date. This initiative would inspire confidence among the Kukis and dispel notions that Government intends to exploit Kuki lands and its people and press a policy of Burmanisation. It would also be a positive deterrent to Kukis resorting to alternative measures as in the past to achieve their objectives.

Yours sincerely,

PS Haokip

President, Kuki National Organisation

Zale'n-gam

MANMASI

ZG UNE No. 02-08 06 Manmasi Dated 11 August 2006

The High Commissioner

United Nations High Commission for Refugees

United Nations Organisation

Geneva, Switzerland

Subject

Request to United Nations Commission for Human Rights (UNHCR) for 43 (forty-three) members of the Kuki Students Democratic Front (KSDF) from Burma to be granted refugee status in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and help to continue their education

Dear Sir,

I would be highly obliged if you can kindly look into the hardship faced by members of Kuki Students Democratic Front of Burma, who have been staying at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia for the last two years

The KSDF members went to Kuala Lumpur because they had to flee from the SPDC in Burma Their pro-democracy activity in Burma is the cause of SPDC's ire. They approached the UNHCR office at Kuala Lumpur and were interviewed by UNHCR representative, Madame Lakshmi, on 8 June 2005. Mr Philimon, a staff member of UN was the translator during the interview. I am sorry to inform you that nothing positive emerged from this interview The KSDF members were not even allowed to enroll so that they could claim UN refugee status in due course of time

Being in a desperate predicament, the KSDF members approached my organization, the Kuki National Organisation to pursue their cause In response, I wrote a memorandum to UN Special Envoy of Burma, Shri Razali Ishmail appealing for refugee status for the KSDF students living in Kuala Lumpur (KNO Reference No ZG SO 06-01 95, 16 September 2005) To date there has been no affirmative response to the appeal

Thereafter, in December 2005 I submitted another memorandum to your office (KNO letter No ZLG UNE 02-04 05 8 December 2005), which include the names of each KSDF member seeking refugee status. I am sorry to say that there has been no response to this memorandum either.

To follow up on the matter, in January 2006 I took the case of the 43 KSDF students to the Federation of Ethnic Nationalities of Burma (FENB) at Chengmai After looking into the issue FENB decided to recommend the pathetic condition of the KSDF students at Kuala Lumpur to the UNHCR office The memorandum was signed by the Secretary of FENB on 2.2.06 and submitted by FENB Vice Chairman & KNO President PS Haokip on 3 April 2006 at UNHCR office in Kuala Lumpur

On 3 April 2006 I was permitted to meet with Madame Sumitra, the UNHCR representative in your office at Kuala Lumpur I personally submitted the memorandum from FENB and explained the plight of the KSDF to your representative However sad to say, she tried her best to avoid the situation and appeared positively apathetic. Failing to gain her empathy, I requested that the 43 KSDF members may at least be permitted to enrol, so that they may be in the list of applicants for refugee status. Her reply was that UNHCR is not enrolling any more new applicants.

To Madame Sumitra I raised the point that the case of the KSDF members cannot be treated as that of new applicants, that they had been interviewed at the UNHCR office on 8 June 2005 and that their names were included with my memorandum to your

office on the same date

This did not yield any favourable response despite the preceding meeting with Madame Lakshmi, on 8 June 2005; the memorandum to UN Special Envoy of Burma, Shri Razali Ishmail (16 September 2005), the memorandum of 8 December 2005, which include the names of each KSDF member, and the memorandum from the Secretary of FENB of 3 April 2006. On 28 June 2006, I met with UNHCR representative Ms Eley at her office in Kuala Lumpur and submitted a memorandum (ZLG/UNE 02-08/06, Manmasi 10 June 2006). Ms Eley promised to look into the matter.

In view of the fact that the KSDF members are not new applicants, I request you to personally intervene in the matter and kindly expedite the process of granting refugee status to all the 43 members of the KSDF. Besides their precarious predicament, the existing condition makes it impossible to continue their education. Granting refugee status and help with continuing their education will be greatly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

PS Haokip

President, Kuki National Organisation

Zale'n-gam

MANMASI

THE KUKI LEADERS CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

IMPHAL, MANIPUR

To,

The Hon'ble Chief Minister

Govt. of Manipur

Imphal

MANIPUR -795 001

Imphal Dated, 4th July 1987

MEMORANDUM OF THE INDISCRIMINATE KILLINGS OF KUKIS BY THE HOSTILE NAGAS

Hon'ble Sir,

The Kuki leaders of Manipur are constrained to apprise the Hon'ble Chief Minister of the mounting aggression of the hostile Tangkhul Nagas of Manipur on the peace loving Kuki community

Manipur is one of the nascent picturesque federal states and sentinels in the north eastern corner of India inhabited by Meitei, Naga and Kuki communities from time immemorial. The vast hill region of the state is indeed the home of both the Nagas and Kukis and. Of the two communities, however, the Kukis are owners of a greater part of the total area of Manipur state, which are in the districts of Churachandpur, Chandel, Ukhrul, Tamenglong and Senapati

The secessionist movement of the Nagas has turned the reign of peace and tranquility of the hills into the reign of grim terror. The Kukis continue to bear the brunt of Naga insurgency in that the Kukis are often not spared in the course of extorting money and

food, not to speak of other innumerable harassments meted out with impunity. The bitterest experiences of the Kukis cannot to be described by words, they can only be imagined.

The Kukis are proud of their rebellion, which came to be known as The Kuki Rebellion of 1917-1919 against the British rule. During WWII, the Kukis fought along with the Indian National Army (INA) during the freedom struggle under Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. In free India of today, the Kukis are not oblivious of their contribution however small in terms of activities for liberation from alien domination.

The failure to contain the underground activists is responsible for the continued absence of law and order in the hills. The Tangkhuls and the Kabuis, known as kacha Nagas, are becoming progressively aggressive upon the Kuki inhabitants in the districts of Ukhrul and Tamenglong. These Nagas are obsessed with the thought of uprooting Kukis from their lands by all means at their command. They believe in being communalists and in isolationism.

The execrable attitude of theirs has led them to threaten the Kukis to flee their lands. The exercise of the right to refusal to leave and resentment of the undue aggression of hostiles against the co-inhabitant Kukis, have led to the gunning down of many of our people over the years. This has jeopardized the pristine relationship between the Nagas and Kukis in Manipur.

Of late that is to say on 26.5.87, Shingkhokai alias Pakang Haokip, Chingsanglakpa of Maokot village in Ukhrul District was waylaid and shot dead. His only fault was welfare activities and constant resistance to Naga hostile onslaught on the law abiding Kukis. To state with the risk of being misunderstood, the protective measures or for that mater security arrangements for the loyal people are far from adequate in the hostile infested areas of Manipur. More persons in following Shingkhokhai's assassination have received warnings to depart from their hearths and homes.

Incidents of such atrocities committed on the Kukis are endless. But mention can be made of the recent kidnapping of Shri [illegible] Kipgen, Chief of Jangnoi village by the Naga hostiles. His dead body was recovered after more than 3 months of extensive search in the form of skeleton. The Chief of Jangnoi Village was also similarly butchered to death and on his body was a notice of hostiles owning responsibilities of the killing.

The actions of the State Government to curtail the activities of the underground Nagas in the extortion of money as taxes or to indiscriminate killing of law abiding citizens, according to the Kuki leaders, are far from adequate. As a matter of fact the withdrawal of the Village Volunteer Force (VVF) who were at the point of nabbing the suspected assassins of Shri Pakang Haokip on pressure can only suggest the unholy connivance of the authorities with the underground elements.

Many Kuki village lands in the interior have been deserted under quit or die order from the Nagas in recent years. To quote the famous saying of George Bernard Shaw regarding the assassinations of Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King, "it proves only that it is dangerous to be good. The Kukis are in the danger position of being good.

In brief, therefore, the Kuki leaders demand

1. Restoration of Kuki villages to the rightful owners.

2. Adoption of unique measures by the Government to contain the underground

3. Organization and anti-social elements

4. Identification of assassins of late Shingkhokhai Haokip and to award commensurate punishment for the act of crime

5. Help restore the ancient positive relationship between the Nagas and Kukis in Manipur

On behalf of Kuki Leaders.

1. (HAOLHUN SINGSIT)

Chairman

2 (PAOKAI HAOKIP), Ex-MP

Secretary to the Consultative Committee of Kuki Leaders,

Manipur

Dated/Imphal

The 4th July 1987

The following pages carry two lists of persons a) killed and b) villages uprooted, which was enclosed along with the above memorandum

a) List of Kukis killed by Tangkhuls in Manipur, Nagaland and Burma from 1950s to 1980s

Name	Village & District	Year
1 Hatkho Touthang	Phaikoh (Ukhrul)	1957
2 Lhaijaneng Touthang	Phaikoh (Ukhrul)	1957
3 Otkhojam Touthang	Phaikoh (Ukhrul)	1957
4 Chungkholet Touthang	Phaikoh (Ukhrul)	1957
5 Otpao Touthang	Phaikoh (Ukhrul)	1957
6. Paokhohen Touthang	Changsang (Senapati)	1962
7. Tongpu Lupho	Sat Oh (Senapati)	1965
8. Seilet Kuki	Nagaland Bungsang	1967
9 Khaipao Lupheng	Changsang (Ukhrul)	1960
10. Songsei Kipgen	Chief of Saichang (Ukhrul)	1958
11. Satkhosei Chongloi	Phaikon (Sadar Hills)	1964
12. Sehthang Chongloi	Phaikon (Sadar Hills)	1963
13. Hollet Kipgen	Chief of Saihaphoh (Burma)	1987
14. Ngamkhothang	Chief of Jangnoi (Burma)	1987
15. Pakang Haokip	Maokot (Ukhrul)	1987
16. Kaimang	Old Gelbung (Sadar Hills)	1968
17. Min Hetlou Mi-3	Khomunnom (Ukhrul)	1969
18. Mrs.Ngahneng	C Kholen (Ukhrul)	1969
19. Pasei Haokip	Akhen (Nagaland)	1957
20. Pamang Haokip	Akhen (Nagaland)	1957
21. Letkhopao Haokip	Akhen (Nagaland)	1957
22. Thongkhopao Singsit	Chief of Lhangkarang (Sadar Hills)	1982
23. Letkhkolun Haokip	Gelbung (Sadar Hills)	1965
24. Ngamjathang Haokip	Gelbung (Sadar Hills)	1965
25. Haopu Singsit	Laikot (Sadar Hills)	1971
26. Khuplet Dimngel	Joupi (Sadar Hills)	1970

27 Ngulkhomang	Selsi East (Sadar Hills)	1956	
28 Haokithang	Nganje (Sadar Hills)	1956	
29 Somkhosei Kipgen	Saichang (Sadar Hills)	1958	
30 Jamkhoson Haokip	Chief of Tokaibung (Chandel)	1961	
31 Doukhosei Haokip	Hengjang(Ukhrul)	1965	
32 Seikhothang	Dahtum (Sadar Hills)	1970	
33. Haokhojang	Hengjol (Ukhrul)	1970	
34 Langkeng Haokip	Gashpani (Nagaland)	1957	
35. Seikholet Lhouvum	Tengnoupal (Chandel)	1958	
36 Paokholet Thangneo	Tamenglong (Tamenglong)	1975	

b) List of Kuki Villages n Manipur Uprooted by Tangkhuls

Village	Name of Chief	Year	District
1 Vongjang	Kapjavung Hangsing	1956	Tamenglong
2 Chongchin	Letkhopao Sitlhou	1956	Tamenglong
3 Maovom	Ngulkholal Lhouvum	1956	Tamenglong
4 Bungsang	Palen Lhouvum	1956	Tamenglong
5 Aiphun	Minlen Lhouvum	1956	Tamenglong
6 Songdop	Thanggoumang	1956	Tamenglong
7 Zoute	Haolal Chnagsan	1956	Tamenglong

8 Sangnao		1956	Tamenglong
9 Phailong	Sehpao	1956	Tamenglong
10. Geljang	Onhen Haokip	1963	Tamenglong
11. Boljang	Thangkhel Haokip	1963	Tamenglong
12 Longjang	Henkhothang Chonglor	1963	Tamenglong
13. Kholep	Sehathang Chonglor	1963	Tamenglong
14 Jollhai		1956	Tamenglong
15 Kolkang	Khotinthang	1968	Tamenglong
16 Phoipi	Khupkai Lhouvum	1956	Tamenglong
17. Awang Thana		1986	Tamenglong
18 Changkel		1956	Tamenglong
19. Kaiphundai		1975	Tamenglong
20. Govazol		1964	Tamenglong
21. Zeilong	Paokholet	1960	Tamenglong
22. Vomli		1963	Tamenglong
23. Pangsang	Lunjapao	1963	Tamenglong
24. Malungdai		1978	Tamenglong
25. Tousang Kuki		1963	Tamenglong
26. Vangchengphai		1958	Tamenglong
27. Khotuh		1962	Tamenglong
28. Lubonolon Kuki		1957	Tamenglong
29. Mong On		1963	Tamenglong
30 Mavaln		1972	Tamenglong
31. Jaolen		1962	Tamenglong

32	Likonphai Kuki	1987 Tamenglong
33	Leisan	1962 Ukhrul
34.	Saichang	1958 Ukhrul
35	Changsang	1961 Ukhrul
36	Khokon	1961 Ukhrul
37	Saibol	1962 Ukhrul
38	Singlet Hungdung	1961
39	Monglham	1961 Ukhrul
40	Gamnom	1961 Ukhrul
41	Lungngou	1961 Ukhrul
42	Singcha	1961 Ukhrul
43	Phaisat	1961 Ukhrul
44	Khotuh	1961 Ukhrul
45	Na- Ang	1961 Ukhrul
46	Phahlhang	1961 Ukhrul
47	Kachai	1961 Ukhrul
48.	Grihang	1948 Ukhrul
49	Changsang	1948 Ukhrul
50.	Leisanphung	1948 Ukhrul
51	Mavel	1948 Ukhrul
52	Mongpi	1961 Ukhrul
53	Gualtabil	1963 Ukhrul
54.	Chahlhang	1961 Senapati
55	Khaonem	1959 Senapati

56	Selsi	1961 Senapati
57.	Boljang	1961 Senapati
58.	Lunglen	1957 Tamenglong
59	Peljang	1958 Tengnoupal
60.	Tokaibung	1968 Tengnoupal
61.	Hengjang	1965 Sadar Hills
62.	Pholjang	1968 Sadar Hills
63.	Pholjang	1968 Sadar Hills
64.	Khokon	1962 Sadar Hills

Annexure III

Zale'n-gam Letters

ZG/OP No. 04-07/05 Manmasi Dated, 16 June 2005

To,

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

General Secretary

National League for Democracy

Rangoon

BURMA

Felicitations and Commiseration

Dear Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, The Kuki National Organisation sends their felicitations on your 60th birthday. At the same time

the organisation, along with millions of other people around the world, commiserate with you on the unjust suffering inflicted on you by the military junta of Burma.

The Kuki people may be small ethnic minorities who have been living in the land of their forefathers, which is now an integral part of Burma, but we fully hold up the emblem of democracy for which you have made immense sacrifices. KNO also appreciates the positive concern your late father, General Aung San, showed towards the ethnic minorities, including the Kukis. The Kuki Students Democratic Front of Burma and KNO are in constant touch with other pro-democracy workers to extend their support so that justice and freedom will someday be the right of Burma and its entire people

KSDF and KNO therefore exhort you to be strong in spirit, mind and body and persevere against the injustices of the military junta for the sake of your people and democracy for Burma.

With very best wishes,

Yours sincerely

PS Haokip

President, Kuki National Organisation

Zale'n-gam

MANMASI

ZG/GEN No 02-44 02 Manmasi Dated, 9 May 2002

To,

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

General Secretary

National League for Democracy

Rangoon

BURMA

Dear Daw Aung San Suu Kyi,

The Kuki National Organisation is very pleased to hear of your release from nineteen months of house arrest by the Military Junta. On behalf of the organisation, I send you felicitations and all best wishes in your continued endeavours for the people of Burma, particularly with regard to the ethnic minorities

On this occasion I like to also mention that there was deep-felt empathy among our people that your late husband Michael Aris was not allowed to be with you in Burma after it was confirmed that he was terminally ill Dr Aris and a Kuki friend of mine who was at Oxford discussed some of the issues concerning the Kuki people This friend met again with your husband prior to his trip to Rangoon in 1998 in order to arrange a meeting with you He was unable to contact you because at the time you were engaged in protest against the Military Junta, firmly ensconced in your car, parked on a bridge. I refer to this to show our concern and support for you personally, and to inform our solidarity with the pro-democracy movement of the National League for Democracy

It is good news that your release from house arrest, through the mediation of Ismail Razali, United Nation's Special Envoy,

includes free travel to carry out your party's program. As a result, the Kuki people and other fellow indigenous ethnic leaders of Burma are encouraged that there will be greater progress towards democracy.

However, in keeping with the ongoing efforts and aspirations of the ethnic militant organisations, I strongly urge that installation of the democratically elected government of 1990, under your leadership, results simultaneously in the creation of a Kuki state along with other ethnic states in Burma. This would create a new union of democratic states that ensures equal participation of the people

With very best wishes,

Yours sincerely

PS Haokip

President, Kuki National Organisation

Zale'n-gam

MANMASI

ZG/GEN No 01-12/95 Manmasi Dated, 12 October 1995

To,

Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi

Noble Prize Laureate

Elected Leader National League

For Democracy of Myanmar

Inya Road, Yangon

BURMA (MYANMAR)

Dear Madam,

I, on behalf of the Kuki People of Myanmar take this opportunity in expressing our felicity on hearing the news of your freedom from house arrest. My People's hopes and sympathies have always been with you and your ideals of democracy even during the long six years of house arrest imposed upon you by the Military Junta Government. We now look to you with renewed hope for justice and fair treatment. We also wish you every success in your struggle for establishing democracy in Myanmar. Our boys, namely the members of Kuki National Warriors (KNA) with their bases in the Kabow Valleys and Somra Tracts in Sagaing Division have been fighting hand in hand with our other brothers, such as KIA (Kachins) Karens, Burmese Students etc etc including all the members of DAB against the high handedness of theMilitary Regime of Myanmar. I would like to express our support for you and your work towards establishment of democracy. Our only wish is for peace and justice in a democratic Myanmar. The Kukis in Myanmar have been harassed and mistreated from the days of the British and even till today under the present regime. We are settled mainly in the Kale—Kabow Valley and Somra Tract

bordering India in the West and Chindwin in the East. The Chins in the South (Chin Hills) and the Kachins in the North (Kachin State) are our close Cousins. An extract from my book 'Zale'n-gam' is herein enclosed for your kind reference. It is on record that attempts have been made to displace the Kukis from their land even from the time of Gen. Newin in 1967 - 'Khandwami Operation', and to settle the land with other Burmese Tribes. The settlements of ONCHIJA, TANAN, MEOTET, ONG CHIJA, NUNGAINYO, BANDULA ETC' which were deliberately set up by Military Government in the Kabow Valley are existing examples of discrimination against the Kukis. We do not have any ill feeling against our other Myanmar Brothers and we have no objection to live with them peacefully but only so long as there is an equitable approach at the Governments policy levels. Till now we have been given a step motherly treatment by the Military Government and therefore have had no alternative but to resort to the guns. We now look forward to your leadership for a fair and equitable treatment for our people and we hope that the elusive statehood for the Kukis within Burma will be realised under your leadership. In return you will always have our faithful support if and when ever required.

With regards and sincere wishes for success in your work and ideals.

Yours sincerely

PS Haokip

President, Kuki National Organisation

Zale'n-gam

MANMASI

ZG/MS No. 01-16/95

Manmasi Dated, 14 June 1996

To,
President,
Angami Public Organisation (APO)
Kohima, Nagaland

Dear Pu Angami,

I have been informed, with deepest regrets, of the assassination of Tobu Kevichusa, younger brother of Late Chale Kevichusa, at Dimapur on the 4th of June '96. Mr. Tobu was a respected personality, a broad-minded and a peace loving man who did not differentiate between race, creed or tribe. He stood out as one who was outspoken and fearless in advocating peace and brotherhood. He was also a very close family friend who stood with us in times of adversity. So I, on behalf of my organisation and my people, convey my heartfelt condolences to his bereaved family and his people. I strongly condemn this act of violence and cowardice committed by Thuingaleng Muivah and his criminal band consisting mainly of Tangkhuls who come from Ukhrul district of Manipur. One wonders how many more precious blood will have to be wasted, how many more Tobus, Charles and Gen. Phovizos will have to be sacrificed before my other Naga brothers of Nagaland wakes up.

Till today, the number of Kukis killed in Nagaland at the hands of NSCN (IM) have risen to 102, all consisting of simple innocent farmers or uninvolved civil servants. There cannot be peace, progress and prosperity in our society until and unless the weeds and thorns are removed. The farmer cannot have a harvest unless weeds and other wild plants are pulled out from amongst the growing crops. Muivah and his people is the scourge of our society, it is they who have brought the culture of guns and violence, it is they who indulge in drug trafficking. Many of our teenage children have wasted their lives with heroin and hashish brought by these people. It is also they who have desecrated our churches by introducing politics into religion. They have even

gone to the extent of butchering innocent worshippers even within the House of God.

The shameful sin of rape, hitherto unknown in our society has become common with Muivahs "Naga Warriors". How long are we to tolerate this shame. Yet, Muivah calls himself and his groups Revolutionary Patriots. So anybody who does not follow his footsteps is labeled as a mercenary or a reactionary traitor (Sunday Magazine: edition: 16-22, June, 1996 Page 51). He is so full of Marxist and Maoist rhetoric but judging from his action, one wonders if he really knows what they mean. Any Naga leader such as Kevichusa or Gen. Phovizo who works towards Naga Unity and for upliftment of Naga Society is seen as a potential rival by this power hungry and blood thirsty "Revolutionary Naga Warrior" called Muivah. How long is he to be tolerated; or is it that the Naga Society as the sole beacon has accepted him for the future. One thing for sure is that the land of gentle streams that we cherish will be a land of blood and tears as long as Muivah and his gang from Manipur are allowed to play their game.

I take this opportunity to remind you of the ancient ties my forefathers had with my other Naga Brothers - renewed in 1929 - drinking of wine from the gun barrel; breaking of animal skull; and pulling apart of animal intestines (signifying that anybody who breaks the agreement of peace and unity will face the barrel of the gun, will have his skull broken in the same way or his intestines pulled apart). So let us stand together in removing this scourge from our society.

Yours faithfully,

PS Haokip
President, Kuki National Organisation
Zale'n-gam
MANMASI

ZG/MS No. 01-12/95

Manmasi Dated, 7 June 1996

To,

Shri Sanjoy Hazarika

Author of "Strangers of the Mist"

Penguin Books India (P) Ltd

Chiranjeev Tower, 43, Nehru Place

New Delhi - 19, India

Dear Hazarika,

I picked up your book "Strangers of the Mist" from the bookstand mainly because of the cover. However, on reading the book, I find that, except for a fleeting mention of the Kuki National Army (KNA) (at p. 243) and that too in a negative light, the book has nothing to do with the KNA in spite of the fact that the first publication of the book came out as late as 1994. Perhaps, you may not have known it but the cover of your book depicts the KNA. The lady depicted is none other than Miss Aneng Haokip (Kuki) a regular member of the KNA. She later (sometime during 1994) married late Hanglen the then President of Kuki National Organisation (KNO), which is the political umbrella of Kuki National Army (KNA) and other Kuki outfits. She originally is from Myanmar. After her marriage, and after having a baby girl in March '95, which incidentally was about the same time when her husband was killed, she is now settled on the Indian side at Moreh. What surprised me most about your book is that there is practically no mention of Aneng Haokip or the KNA. You may

please be informed that it was the KNA who drove the NSCN (IM) terrorists from South Manipur particularly Moreh Area. Perhaps, you do not know much about the KNA because we do not indulge in such cowardly activities as killing innocent villagers, burning villages, raping women and butchering children. I do admit that the Kuki outfits are not as old as the NSCN (IM), but the KNA was founded as early as Feb '91, and since then the NSCN (IM) has not dared to enter South Manipur, having suffered many casualties whenever they have tried to. This itself is a self-contained account of your "Heroic NSCN Warriors".

I am very sorry to note that you have exploited Ms. Aneng Haokip's picture. KNA's picture to the hilt because like me there would have been many buyers of your book keen to read about the KNA. However, not one credit has been given to the cover subject. Instead you have eulogised such criminal outfits as NSCN (IM) (the scourge of Northeast society). The least you can do now is to contribute a small portion of your royalty for the benefit of Ms. Aneng Haokip who is now living as an ordinary widow at Moreh with her baby daughter. She remains not only a mother but also one of our sepoys.

Yours sincerely,

PS Haokip

President, Kuki National Organisation

Zale'n-gam

MANMASI

ZG/LT No. 01-66/06

Manmasi Dated, 10 April 2006

Dear MNF Brethren,

Greetings from Zale'n-gam, the Kuki nation!

I am pleased that the MNF leaders have extended an invitation to KNO to discuss matters of importance concerning our people. The initiative at this hour is much appreciated. I am sorry that I shall not be present at the meeting; however, I am sending this missive to convey some of my thoughts for your consideration.

The days of the MNF movement from 1960s to 1980s is still vivid in our minds. The present generation may not be fully aware of the fact that the Kukis were a part of the movement. More importantly, many may be unaware that our participation was owing to our shared ethnicity and also because of our faith in the common political future that was expressed in MNF's objectives.

In 1998, towards the end of the NSCN-IM's ethnic cleansing of Kukis, Pu Roshangzuala, on behalf of MNF, came to Manipur to invite me to visit Mizoram. The purpose he stated was to discuss ways in which MNF could extend help in the present situation. As I was unable to come personally, cabinet members of KNO, Pu Antone Haokip, Secretary Home and Pu SNG Haokip, Secretary-Public Relations, represented the organization at the meeting held in Aizawl. Following extensive discussions, one of the important agreements reached was that the area which present day Mizoram state boundary does not include would be represented by Kuki.

However, I am sorry to say that since that last meeting in 1988 there have been some unfortunate developments. Firstly, the YMA accepted the Gangte group as a part of Mizo, thereby undermining Kuki unity. Secondly, in 2002-2003, Pu Zoramthanga, Chief Minister of Mizoram, was approached to initiate dialogue between KNO and Government of India. As a result, the late Brigadier

Vipin Haokip, Chief of Army Staff of Kuki National Army (KNO's armed wing) met with the Government's IB representatives in Calcutta and New Delhi. Thereafter, rather surprisingly in April of 2003, prior to the 14th Lok Sabha elections, instead of trying to garner support for the sitting MP, Pu Holkhomang Haokip, Pu Zoramthanga proposed Pu Roshangzuala to contest from the Manipur Outer Constituency. This led to a parting of ways, and neither Pu Holkhomang nor Pu Roshangzuala was elected, and Mani Charenamai, the Naga candidate supported by NSCN-IM, is now the MP from Manipur. It is regrettable that such a situation arose at an especially crucial time. When there is a Kuki state, it would be appropriate for Mizos to contest not only MP, but also MLA seats.

The MNF movement shows that Kuki support was extended without any reservation. With regard to Mizo support for Kuki, however, tlawmngaihna seems to be somewhat lacking. Having said that, KNO appreciates the initiative you have currently shown. I am sure this appreciation will be shared by the entire Kuki people. I trust also that this opportunity will be put to purposeful use in order to achieve practical and meaningful results.

I like to offer the following ideas on how progress could be made:

1. The chief minister of Mizoram press for political dialogue between KNO and GOI regarding creation of Kuki statehood.

2. The Mizoram Assembly pass a resolution that Kukis be accorded statehood.

3. The Mizoram chief minister lobby amongst CMs of other states to create Kuki statehood.

4. The people of Mizoram make a concerted effort to support the creation of Kuki statehood through the media: television, radio and news papers.

5. Include Hmar areas in Mizoram into Kuki state, which could be put together with their areas in Churachandpur to comprise a

Hmar district. For your kind information, KNO has declared its intentions to create within the Kuki state Sub-Divisions and Districts as appropriate for all the constituent clans and groups, such as Paite, Zou, Vaiphei, Simte and KomRem.

A few statistical facts are highlighted to strengthen the rationale for Kuki statehood.

- Kuki chiefs own more than half the geographical area of Manipur, for which they possess Pattas, i.e. legal land titles. Kuki lands include the districts Chandel, Churachandpur, Sadar Hills (presently in Senapati District) and vast tracts in Ukhrul, Tamenglong and Senapati.

- KNO's ideology of Zale'n-gam includes as its objectives Kuki statehood, one in India and another in Burma. Zale'n-gam has brought about Kuki unity for the first time in about fifty years.

- Inspired by the spirit of Zale'n-gam the following organisations have joined KNO: Kuki National Front (Zogam), Kuki National Front (Military Council), United Socialist Revolutionary Army (Vaiphei and Simte), Zomi Revolutionary Front (Paite), Zou Defence Volunteer, Hmar National Army, and United KomRem Revolutionary Army (Aimol, Kom, Chiru, Koireng, Kharam, and Purum).

- Kuki population in Manipur is second only to the Meitei people. Of Manipur's total population of 22 lakhs (census of 2001), roughly two-thirds are Meiteis; Kukis constitute 5 – 6 lakhs, and Nagas about 3 - 4 lakhs.

The road ahead of us may be laden with many challenges, but together as a people of common origin and with a common past, shared culture, customs and traditions, we shall overcome those challenges.

Let us recollect that our forefathers opposed British colonialism right from the outset in order to preserve the integrity of our ancestral land. In their capacity they performed great feats in the

18th, 19th and 20th centuries. The first incident on record is that of 1777, during the time of Warren Hastings, Governor General of India. Other notable events took place in 1845, 1847-1848, 1849-1850, and 1850-1851, followed by the Great Kuki Invasion of 1860s.' These historic events, which are heroic acts of self-defence, were termed 'raids' by the British, who came to invade our lands.

In the twentieth-century, Kukis featured in both the World War theatres. WWI marked the 'Kuki rising, 1917-1919', which was a momentous offensive, and in practical terms a culmination of opposition against the British colonialists. Up till this stage, while India and Burma was already taken over by the British, including Chin Hills and Manipur in the year 1860 and 1891 respectively, the Kukis remained independent, ruled by their noble chiefs. It was only after the events of the last 'Kuki rising' that, for the first time in history, our territory, Zale'n-gam, was divided and brought under the administrations of British India and British Burma. The details of the event, also referred to as 'Kuki Rebellion 1917-1919,' are featured in History of the Assam Rifles, by Col W Shakespeare (1929) and in Sentinels of the North East by Maj General DK Palit (1964). During WWII, resistance against the British continued. That time round, our forefathers fought along with the Japanese of the Axis forces and the Indian National Army. Numerous INA veterans continue to draw their pensions till date.

We must bear in mind that our forebears never ceased to fight in order to preserve the integrity of our ancestral lands, which were never a part of India or Burma. Based on this historical reality, in the modern period if our lands are to be included within sovereign nation-states, it is only proper that they be accorded statehood statuses. In this instance, this means statehood, one in India and another in Burma. This is KNO's objectives that we mutually pursue.

As outlined in the statement of agreement signed by KNO and the respective organisations (also mentioned in point 5 above),

when we have achieved our political goal of statehood in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of India, districts and sub-divisions as appropriate will be duly accorded to the constituent members of Zale'n-gam.

Let us pray that God will bless the initiatives we undertake on behalf of our people. Our sincere efforts will ensure two significant outcomes: a) the present generation will be spared further agonies borne of the recent past's lack of unity, and b) generations to come will experience a future blessed with peace, harmony and development.

Please note that creation of Zale'n-gam's statehood is no skin off Meitei's or anybody else's teeth. The chant for Manipur's territorial integrity is riding on a façade of concern for the people. If truth be told, the real reason is to perpetuate the existing domination by Meiteis in the state so that they can continue to devour more than their share of the funds provided for all the communities by the central government.

Your cooperation with KNO will raise Naga and Meitei's respect for Kukis, minimize their opposition and expedite the creation of Kuki statehood. Kuki statehood and your input will also give confidence to the groups that have so far been drawn to identify as 'politically Naga' to return to their original Kuki fold.

I send my fondest greetings to all MNF leaders and anticipate that the meeting on 13 April 2006, at Aizawl, will be most productive.

Yours affectionately,

PS Haokip

President, Kuki National Organisation

Zale'n-gam

MANMASI

ZG/CR 01-01/02 Manmasi Dated, 7 August 2002

Prof Yozo Yokota

742-1, Higashi – Nakano

Hachioji-Shi, Tokyo – 192-0393

Dear Prof Yokota,

I was pleased to hear that Semkhothong Haokip met with you during his recent trip to Japan in May - June 2002 to do a course with United Nations University International on Human Rights: Concepts and Issues, and International Co-operation and Development Semkhothong related to me your interest in helping to find more information and the possible whereabouts of our elder, whom we refer to as Japan Pakang.

Below is some details concerning Japan Pakang: Japan Pakang's real name was Pu Onkholet Haokip. His father's name was Thonglim Haokip, and his mother's name Lhingjalam. He was the leader of the Kuki nation that joined the Imperial Japanese forces and the Indian National Army in World War II. In 1944, Japan Pakang was about thirty years old, which makes him 86 today. Being of medium build and with light complexion, he was nicknamed Japan Pakang.

A brief history of the Kukis is as follows:

According to our folklore, there were the progenitors Songthu and Songja. As referred to in Lambert's report, from Songthu followed Kuki, from Songja Japanese. Kuki was a sovereign nation with its unique form of governance, customs and tradition. Nishi Kikan's reference to the Japanese, Kukis, Burmese in relation to the names of members of Nishi Kikan of Homalin Tamanti Branch is a clear acknowledgement that the peoples are of different nationalities. Prior to the advent of British colonialism, the Kuki people lived in peace with their neighbours. In Zale'n-gam, the land of the Kukis, they ruled without any interference from outsiders. Our legendary hero, Galngam, treaded the length and breadth of Zale'n-gam, where his tracks are still exist. Twenty four such sites have been found, which are recorded by Haokip s (1998, pp13-16)

The British, having already conquered most of present-day Northeast India, finally subjugated Kukis in 'the Kuki rising, 1917-1919'. Thereafter, Kuki was brought under the British administration and their country was divided between India and Burma. WWII provided the opportunity to regain sovereignty. Therefore, Kuki sided with the Axis group against the Allies, which was also owing to close 'ethnic' affinity with Japan. The imprisonment of their chiefs and leaders following the events of 'the Kuki rising, 1917-1919' and the defeat of the Axis group in WWII have left an indelible mark on the Kuki people today. they are without a state in India and in Burma let alone a nation.

Japan Pakang worked with Japanese officers. Masada, Co-operation Commissioner, Nikikong and Ikamura, Deputy Co-operation Commissioner, Civil Affairs Office. According to our elders, the Kukis and the Japanese signed a pact to stand together against the Allied forces. The pact was carried out in Kuki tradition: a bison was killed to mark the occasion, and its liver and heart, representing the animal's symbolic essence were eaten together this characterized a deep and genuine commitment against the common enemy. They also swore to honour the pact by biting on a tiger's tooth this signified a tiger would eat either party that reneged. With regard to the Kuki-Japanese relationship for example, Tongkhothang, chief of Chassad, son of Pache a war hero and leader of the 1917 Kuki rising, crossed the Chindwin river in November 1943, where he contacted the Japanese requesting four hundred rifles to fight against the British (Lambert Report).

During WWII, in accordance with the above pact, Kukis aided Japanese engineers (disguised as Kukis) to survey the terrain.

where several strategic roads were constructed. From Thamanti near the river Chindwin in Burma to Pholen, Khotuh Kongkailong, Letjum, Molheh Camp, Akhen and Kanjang stretching to Jessami near Kohima. Secondly, from Homalin to Phailen, Khongkan Thana, Chassad to Imphal. Thirdly, from Kalemyo to Tamu, Moreh, Pallel to Imphal. From Fallam, Behieng, Singhat, Bishenpur to Imphal. The Japanese trained Kukis and relied on their espionage amongst the Britishers to gain vital information regarding their movement, etc. On certain occasions, the Japanese, disguised as Kukis, pretending to sell chicken, eggs, and other food items also went to the British camps. Taking advantage of the Kuki-Japanese alliance, the British carried out counter espionage: they employed Nepalis and disguised them as Kukis to infiltrate Japanese camps. In Sentinels of the North-East (1984, p143), Maj Gen Palit relates an incident:

Typical of these returning parties was one under N K Kalur Gurung, who returned with four rifle men all disguised as Kukis. The NCO and his foreman had been captured by the Japanese at the start of the offensive, but managed to escape. They remained in hiding in the jungle until the advancing enemy echelon has passed. They then brought Kuki clothes from the villages and, once in disguise tried to make their way back thorough the Japanese lines. Again they were captured; and this time they were produced before a Japanese officer. During interrogation, they pretended not to understand Hindi, merely repeating 'Kuki-Kuki' in a wailing voice. Satisfied that they were only local tribals, the Japanese let them go.

Apparently, on some occasions, incidents similar to those related by Palit caused some misunderstandings: it made the Japanese think that Kukis were working against them. This is contrary to Kuki loyalty to honour their relations with the Japanese, which was marked by biting on a tiger's tooth, as described above. The mass Kuki support for the Japanese is immortalised in a traditional composition called Iakonla.

Theilou Koljang toni lep banna

Ging deng deng'e Japan lenna huilen kong

Pego Lhemlhei saigin hang

Mao deng deng'e van thanmjol Japan lenna

Amao deng deng'e Japan lenna mongmo

Vailou kon sunsot selung hem tanu

Atwi theikhong tabang a ging deng deng.

Ging deng deng'e Japan lenna huilen kongin

Explanation of the above verses: The first verse, for example, expresses a deep-felt emotion evoked by the sound of Japanese planes passing over Zale'n-gam. The emotion is likened to that stirred by the evening sun. The British banned this elegy for obvious reasons, but in vain only: the Kukis continued to cherish it, and even till this day.

The Allied defeat of the Axis power was felt greatly by the Japan Pakang and Subhas Chandra Bose of the Indian National Army (INA). Their respective country was divided. Subhas Chandra Bose's was divided between India and Pakistan; and Japan Pakang's between India and Burma. As a result, after the war both of them, feeling despondent and therefore not wanting to return to their peoples, left for Japan.

Yours sincerely,

PS Haokip

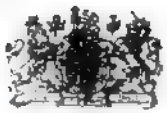
President, Kuki National Organisation

Zale'n-gam

MANMASI

Annexure IV

WARRANTS



WARRANT.

[redacted]

Delhi
The [redacted] 19

[redacted] Holland
[redacted] Government of India
[redacted] Foreign and Political Department.

PLEASE TURN OVER

To,
The Political Officer,
Sadiya Frontier Tract.

Whereas the Governor General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons has seen it to determine that Chengjapao Chief of Aisan,

shall be placed under personal restraint at Sadiya and within a radius of two miles from the office of the Political Officer, Sadiya Frontier Tract, you are hereby required and commanded in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General in council and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

By order of the Governor General in Council,

Dated : Delhi
The 8th December 1919

Sd R E Holland
Secretary to the Government of India
in the Foreign and Political Department



WARRANT.

To

The Political Officer,
Sadiya Frontier Tract.

Whereas the Governor-[illegible] Council, for good and sufficient [illegible] determine that Tintong, Chief of Laiyong,

shall be placed under personal restraint at Sadiya and within a radius of two miles from the office of the Political Officer, Sadiya Frontier Tract, you are hereby required and commanded, in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General in Council and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818

By [illegible] Council,

Dated : Delhi
The [illegible] 19

[illegible]
[illegible] Government of India
[illegible] and Political Department

PLEASE TURN OVER.

WARRANT

To,

The Political Officer,
Sadiya Frontier Tract.

Whereas the Governor General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons has seen it to determine that Tintong Chief of Laiyang, shall be placed under personal restraint at Sadiya and within a radius of two miles from the office of the Political Officer, Sadiya Frontier Tract, you are hereby required and commanded in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General in council and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818

By order of the Governor General in Council,

Dated ; Delhi
The 8th December 1919

Sd R E Holland
Secretary to the
Government of India
in the Foreign and Political Department



WARRANT.

To

The Political Officer,
Sadiya Frontier Tract.

Whereas the Governor-General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons has seen it to determine that Heljason, Chief of Loibol,

shall be placed under personal restraint at Sadiya and within a radius of two miles from the office of the Political Officer, Sadiya Frontier Tract, you are hereby required and commanded, in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor-General in Council and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818

By order of the Governor-General in Council,

Dated : Delhi
The December 19

Secretary to the Government of India
Foreign and Political Department.

PLEASE TURN OVER

WARRANT

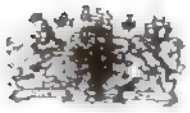
To,
The Political Officer,
Sadiya Frontier Tract

Whereas the Governor General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons has seen it to determine that Heljason Chief of Loibol,
shall be placed under personal restraint at Sadiya and within a radius of two miles from the office of the Political Officer, Sadiya Frontier Tract, you are hereby required and commanded in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General in council and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

By order of the Governor General in Council.

Dated : Delhi
The 8th December 1919

Sd R E Holland
Secretary to the Government of India
in the Foreign and Political Department



WARRANT

The ... Officer,
... Frontier Tract.

... Pakang.

... two miles from the office of the ... Officer, Sadiya Frontier ... pursuance of ... to be named into ... custody of the ... the provisions ...

Dated ... Delhi
The ... 19

... Secretary of the ... Political Department

PLEASE TURN OVER.

WARRANT

To,
The Political Officer,
Sadiya Frontier Tract.

Whereas the Governor General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons has seen it to determine that Pakang Chief of Henglep,
shall be placed under personal restraint at Sadiya and within a radius of two miles from the office of the Political Officer Sadiya Frontier Tract, you are hereby required and commanded in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General in council and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

By order of the Governor General in Council.

Dated ; Delhi
The 8th December 1919

Sd R.E Holland
Secretary to the Government of India
in the Foreign and Political Department

WARRANT.

The Political Officer,
Sadiya Frontier Tract.

[illegible] Pachei alias
Hlukhomang, Chief of Chassad

[illegible] Sadiya Frontier
[illegible] pursuance
that determination, to receive [illegible] above named into
[illegible] custody [illegible] Regulation III of 1818.

By [illegible] Council,

Dated Delhi
The [illegible] December 19

[illegible] Government of India
in the Foreign and Political Department.

PLEASE TURN OVER.

To,
The Political Officer,
Sadiya Frontier Tract

Whereas the Governor General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons has seen it to determine that Pachei alias Hlukhomang, Chief of Chassad, shall be placed under personal restraint at Sadiya and within a radius of two miles from the office of the Political Officer, Sadiya Frontier Tract, you are hereby required and commanded in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General in council and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

By order of the Governor General in Council,

Dated ; Delhi
The 8th December 1919

Sd R.E Holland
Secretary to the
Government of India
in the Foreign and Political Department

WARRANT.

To,

The Political Officer,
Sadiya Frontier Tract.

Whereas the Governor General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons has seen it to determine that Ngulkhup chief of Mombi,,
shall be placed under personal restraint at Sadiya and within a radius of two miles from the office of the Political Officer, Sadiya Frontier Tract, you are hereby required and commanded in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General in council and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

By order of the Governor General in Council,

Dated ; Delhi
The 8th December 1919

Sd R.E. Holland
Secretary to the Government of India
in the Foreign and Political Department

WARRANT

Dated ; Delhi
The December 19

PLEASE TURN OVER.



WA RANT.

To,

The Political Officer,
Sadiya Frontier Tract.

[illegible] Governor-General in Council [illegible] good and sufficient reasons, has seen it to determine that Mangkhoon, Chief of Tingkai Mangkhoon,

[illegible] placed under personal restraint at Sadiya and within a [illegible] of two miles from the office of the Political Officer, Sadiya Frontier Tract, you are hereby required and commanded, in pursuance of [illegible] determination, to receive the person above named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor-General in Council and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

By order of the Governor-General in Council,

Dated Delhi
The 8th December 1919.

Sd/ R E Holland
Secretary to the Government of India
in the Foreign and Political Department

PLEASE TURN OVER

WARRANT

To,

The Political Officer,
Sadiya Frontier Tract.

Whereas the Governor General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons has seen it to determine that Mangkhoon, Chief of Tingkai Mangkhoon, shall be placed under personal restraint at Sadiya and within a radius of two miles from the office of the Political Officer, Sadiya Frontier Tract, you are hereby required and commanded in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General in council and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818

By order of the Governor General in Council,

Dated ; Delhi
The 8th December 1919

Sd R.E. Holland
Secretary to the Government of India
in the Foreign and Political Department



WARRANT

To,
The Political Officer,
Sadiya Frontier Tract

Whereas the Governor General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons has seen it to determine that Leothang Chief of Goboh,
shall be placed under personal restraint at Sadiya and within a radius of two miles from the office of the Political Officer, Sadiya Frontier Tract, you are hereby required and commanded in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General in council and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

By order of the Governor General in Council,

Dated : Delhi
The 8th December 1919

Sd R E. Holland
Secretary to the
Government of India
in the Foreign and Political Department



WARRANT

[illegible]

[illegible] Sadiya and within a [illegible] Officer, Sadiya Frontier [illegible] Office of [illegible]

[illegible] Regulation [illegible]

[illegible] Governor-General in Council

Dated Delhi [illegible] 19[illegible]

Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department.

PLEASE TURN OVER.

WARRANT

To,
The Political Officer,
Sadiya Frontier Tract.

Whereas the Governor General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons has seen it to determine that Khumthang (or Kilkhung) Chief of Jampi,
shall be placed under personal restraint at Sadiya and within a radius of two miles from the office of the Political Officer, Sadiya Frontier Tract, you are hereby required and commanded in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General in council and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

By order of the Governor General in Council.

Dated : Delhi
The 8th December 1919

Sd R.E Holland
Secretary to the Government of India
in the Foreign and Political Department

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Neosen sanga nachun nu khojang to lu va,
Nampi ngei khojang natom,
Choi til kalai tan.

Phun gol hou tong tolou toh,
Thimthu jinglai nanohna,
Naphei phung khante.

Phei phung hai bang na khat leh,
Najil jo min thei lou-o,
Hamjang naboh ding.

Yo hamjang boh chang inlang,
Na lel thimthu jalai jah,
Phei lambang jang hen.

Phung gol nampi te dinga,
Najil mang lekha thol thot,
Gui khao chan jam hen.

Gam gui khao bang jam henlang,
Thong alhun na namtin cha,
Hou tong na nem hen.

Nampi hamjang set lai jah,
Phung gol lungching ngai jatam,
Hoija vabang bol jou tamo.

Nampi majop selou daithul kaita,
Vailou konding phung gol,
Samang kivai mota.

Phung gol lah a phung sanglhum,
Laitan tol cheng vailou kon,
Hamjang boh uvo chung Pathen.

Phung gol cheng lenna dingin,
Hin hei them mo Chung Pathen,
Sipleija thang ding in.

Nampi hao tongto na ding
Sisum a choh thei hihen,
Mangkom ah kei che leng.

Choitil laitan ven lung ching chung
Pathen in vang boh oh,
Nahin kumkho sot hen.

Nahin kumkho sot inlang
Vailou konpi phunggol chang toh,
Nahol uh vei gam thong lhun sah hen chung Pathen in.

Nahol lu veigam thong lhung hen
Phunggol laijah lhang chul nga bangin
Leng uvin kum sot nin.

Phunggol laija phung laikam nahiuve,
Choiphal gobang ham uh vo
Nampi te ding in.

Phung gol nampite dingin
Jingna siplei chungah ,
Namtin tong nem hen.

Nanu Nemjalhai Haokip alias Nemboi

THE FLAG OF ZALE'N-GAM



The top Green Band of the flag signifies Eternity and Prosperity.
The Red Band signifies Sacrifice and Courage with a sense of urgency.
The Blue Band at the bottom signifies Freedom & Sovereignty.
The Blue Star against a white background in the middle is the Star of David.

The Proportion is such that the top and bottom bands are one fourth of the size of the breadth respectively and the middle red portion is half the breadth. The star is one third of the breadth of the flag. The ratio of the length and breadth is 3 : 2.